THE GLORY OF QUAID-I-AZAM

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THE GLORY OF QUAID-I-AZAM

Dedicated

to

My Mother

who

constantly prayed for Ouaid-e-Azam and Pakistan ; who, while I was still in my teens, placed me under a vow to always look upon Pakistan as the land of the pure and the pious, to regard it as another name and expression of Islam and to do everything, even to lay down my life, for its glory and greatness and never to think or say or do anything, publicly or privately, to sully its honour and integrity or compromise its dignity and independence.

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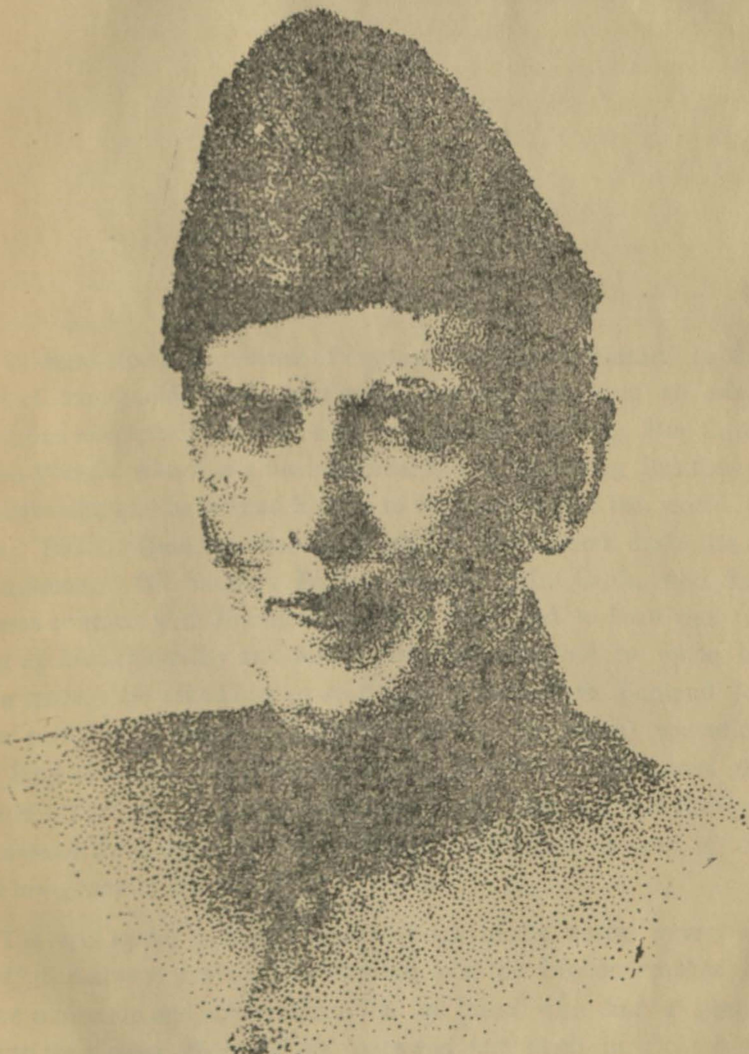
The basic theme of this book is the glory and greatness of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It has been treated as it appeared in various aspects of his life—as a lawyer, as a legislator, as a leader and, finally, as a humanist. It is not a book of biography. It deals with the Quaid's character and conduct, his mind and thought, his spirit and inspiration, his principles and practices, as manifested in the long career of his ceaseless struggle and endeavour, first as an individual and then as the soul and symbol of the Muslim nation in the sub-continent.

He was a leader of great mind and great spirit and energy. His leadership was not only iconoclastic but also creative. His character, personal and political, was animated by a deep sense of the moral values. He demolished the old icons and images of Imperialism, Colonialism, Brahmanism and Feudealism and, out of an old skeleton, created a new party and a new nation charged with a great ideal. The Muslim India, caught in the coils of decadence, had ceased to think for the last more than 200 years. They were left with little thinking power, less courage and no independence. When the Quaid took control of the affairs of the Muslim League and started re-organizing it in the Mid-thirties, the Muslims were regarded either as

the tools and touts of the British Imperialism or as the flunkeys and followers of the Hindu Congres. They were dis-united and dis-organized, with no sense of dignity and honour and independence. The Quaid was more than 60 years old at that time. But he had a sense of commitment with the Muslim destiny. In a few years, he raised the Muslim League from the feuding faction of a few feudalists—a party of Nawabas, Noons and Knights, as the Blitz blared—into a Peoples Party, as the Quaid himself put it. It was a great struggle, a great movement, a great revolution. How did the Quaid bring about this miracle ? What means and measures did he adopt ? It is an absorbing and inspiring story. The Author has told this story in this book, especially in the Chapter on the Saga of Seven Year's Struggle. Similarly, the supreme beauty and sublimity of the Quaid's humanism has been delineated in the Chapter on Quaid as a Muslim Humanist which gives a new insight into his mind and character. Likewise, in the Chapter on the British Bunglings, he has give the processes by which Mountbatten reduced himself to a mountebank.

The Author of this book, Mr. Muhammad Yousuf Khan, is devoted to the ideals of the Quaid. His long years in the judiciary have given him a judicial mind and a judicious approach. He has taken great pains to bring out the greatness of the Quaid in every sphere of his activity by focussing attention on the relevant incidents, events and examples culled from the vast panorama of his life and labours. He has concentrated the essence of the Quaid in these ten Chapters by gleaning the choicest, the finest and the best of his thought and feeling, as expressed in the immense store of his speeches, statements and letters ; in his talks with his contemporaries, colleagues and coevals and in the impressions recorded by his devotes, friends and subordinates. It has been written in a style which is both brilliant and beautiful. Its reading, as I hope, will be a rich and rewarding experience.

(Dr. Khairat M. Ibn-e-Rasa)
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November 29, 1976.



As A Lawyer

It seems that a deep sense of destiny had been implanted in the heart of the Quaid which inexorably weaned him from all other directions and set him to follow the call of his destiny. His father Jinnah Poonja, who was a businessman, had a flourshing business in the beginning and he wanted his son to follow him into the world of trade. But the Quaid showed no liking for the dull and drab life of a tradesman. His father's English friend, F. L. Croft, who had business contacts with Jinnah Poonja and who had a keen eye for sizing up human quality and calibre, advised him not to waste his son in trade. He asked him to send young Jinnah to England for higher studies. It was thus that after finishing his initial education from Sind Madrasa, Mr. Jinnah sailed for England. He joined the Lincoln's Inn for his Bar only because at the gate of this College, the name of the Prophet of Islam had been inscribed as one of the great law-givers of the world.

The legal career as it had been throughout the entire gamut of history, had always provided an opening into the higher reaches of human aspiration and achievement. It led those who had a genius for it to the highest offices of the state and put them in a position where they could shape the National destiny. This was the case in the classical Greece and Rome and this continued to be the case down to the modern times in Europe and America where pursuit of

law was the passport of entry into highest appointments in public life. In ancient Greece, Pericles and Demosthenes started their career as lawyers, became national heros and passed into legends. Similarly, in the Roman Republic, Cato and Cicero began their life as practising lawyers, mounted to the highest rungs of the ladder, became symbols of democratic courage and charisma and left behind a halo of history. The moderndemocracies followed the same course and the legal profession came to be the key of leadership. The Quaid was deeply impressed by the great men of law of his times. He had seen them in the courts as presiding judges and as practising advocates. He had also seen them in the parliament at debates and discussions, making laws and carrying on the administration. He had also seen how great lawyers not only made the law but also controlled, commanded and moulded the public opinion, how they developed into national figures, acquiring great following and sweeping into office on the crest of great public storms and outbursts. All this must have been at the back of his mind when he adopted the legal line. He devoted himself to the study of law and within a short period of two years completed it and was called to the Bar. As it has been said, he was the youngest Indian student of the time who ever achieved this distinction at this age.

Returning to India, the Quaid shifted from Karachi to Bombay as in those days Karachi was still a small town which offered no scope for his talents. The High Court was at Bombay and Sind, as the Quaid said, was just like a cinderalla to this great metropolis. In Bombay there met the cross currents of national and inter-national thoughts. Being a cosmopolitan city, it was the hub and haunt of the great luminaries and celebrities in every walk of life, consisting of both the natives and the foreigners. In his own line, he found there giants of law who had installed themselves in the legal hagiology, some as celebrated icons while others as their devotees. When the Quaid entered this great centre of law and life, he was alone, with no body to help and support him. He was formally enrolled as an Advocate of the High Court and then was left alone on the high breakers of law to sink or swim, as he could, in this enchanted sea. It was a tough and trying situation but it found its match in the

Young Jinnah who was a man of indomitable will and courage. He remained briefless for three years at Bombay while back home in Karachi his father had met with a disaster in his business ventures. So the Quaid's four sisters and three brothers had to be brought up by a father whose fortunes had sunk and who had put his entire faith and confidence in his son to maintain the family. This crushing burden kept knocking at his mind while he laboured to make his start at the law. But this did not break his spirit. The inner strength and energy which welled up from the recesses of his soul stood predominent over all the adversities.

In these dark and dreary circumstances, there appeared a gleam of light. Mr. Macpherson, who was the British Advocate General at the Bombay High Court and who was impressed by the personal qualities of young Jinnah, offered him the use of his library. He accepted the offer with a grateful heart and started visiting his chambers and consulting his law books. This provided not only an occupation for his vacant hours but also brought him into contact with the known English legal minds of Bombay. Another Englishman, Sir George Lowndes, a Barrister of Bombay, also had been kind to him at this time, as the Quaid stated in one of his letters. He was to him like a father. Under these beneficent influences, the Quaid plodded on in the same buoyant spirit and with the same upright mind, undaunted by his circumstances. He was not one to submit to any difficulty and distress. He could not be snuffed out by any disappointment and defeat. Many a lawyer of a low calibre would have bent down and surrendered to blind necessity, compromised their mind and character, rushed into the seamy side of the law, the shady deals and sharp practices. But the young Quaid even at this time of extreme penury kept his head high and his character untarnished. The deep sense of Independence and honesty which he had, gave a unique significance to his honourable poverty at this early stage. As it has been recorded by some biographers of the Quaid-e-Azam, he refused to win his way up by favours and recommendations. He was determined to rise on his own merits and not through the merits of anybody else, parent or patron. At this time, the post of a Presidency Magistrate fell temporarily vacant. He

applied to the law Secretary, Sir Charles Ollivant for it. He was desired to bring a letter of recommendation from his senior, Mr. Macpherson. But he told him that he was already under too much obligation to him to strain his kindness any further by asking him for a letter of recommendation. In the meantime, however, the Advocate General had a talk with ihe Law secretary and the appointment was given to the young Barrister. He kept it for a short time and when Sir Charles Ollivant wanted to give him a higher appointment at Rs. 1500/- a month, he gracefully declined the offer saying that it no longer fitted in the scheme of life which he had planned for himself and that he wanted to earn that much money every day. Such was the faith and confidence which he had in himself. And such are the men who master the slatternly ways of fortune which smiles on men of strong will and frowns upon those with a faint heart. The Quaid, thereafter, took up his practice and this time his character, courage, industry and perseverence won him a place in the first rank of the distinguished members of the Bombay Bar. He became an honour and ornament of the High Court Bar. He was the champion of the best traditions of the legal profession and was called Lord Simon of the Indian Bar. He put a high accent on honour, integrity, independence and self-respect. He vindicated the place and position of the lawyers in the hierarchy of law as second to none. He stood for the rightful place of the lawyers and was always ready to uphold it at any cost and in any encounter, either with a judge or a bureaucrat.

In order to bring this quality of the Quaid's character into full relief. I will go back into history and see what were the conditions that prevailed in India in the beginning of the British Rule which continued to harass and hound the men and women of this subcontinent. After the British had established their power, consolidated their rule and developed it into an empire, drunk with power, puffed up with arrogance and swollen with pride, they misbehaved not only with the public but also with their pleaders. They had lost their poise and balance which characterised them while they were in England. As soon as they set foot on the Indian soil, they lost all

sense of the democratic norms, of decorum and dignity. They became imbued with the spirit of rulers and conquerers, lords and masters. This temper of mind enveloped all the Englishmen, whether a judge or a bureaucrat. Their attitude was haughty, their tone was insulting, their words were offensive and their manner was hubristic. It was not easy to get justice with dignity from them. One returned from an encounter with them smarting under a deep sense of motification and disgrace. The intensity with which the British hated the men and women of this country is graphically described by Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, Mulkraj Anand and Munshi Prem Chund in some of their novels. They had utter contempt for this two legged animal who was black and brutish, ignorant and illiterate and who relieved himself on the ground. The natives of India were equated with dogs and on the gates of the exclusively British clubs and hotels the sign "Dogs and Indians are not allowed" was displayed in bold letters. The statue of Lawrence in a square at Lahore with sword in one hand and pen in the other carried the inscription "which do you submit to, the sword or the pen" ? Such specimens of British humanity and generosity were spread all over the country as reminders to the natives of their true status as serfs and slaves. The Courts and the offices were mostly presided over by the hectoring fellows who regarded every Indian either as a thief or a thug and about whom they always had the suspicion that he will either mislead them or cheat them. An idea of what the Englishmen thought of the Indians can be gathered from a man of such mellow wisdom and mature judgement as Macaulay who made the following observation on the character of the men of the lower Ganges, Bihar and Bengal :

> "What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty. according to the old greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery are the weapons, offensive and defensive of the people of the Lower Ganges."

Men of India were like flies in the hand of the English who killed them for their sport. It was out of this contempt for Indian humanity that Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, entered into a collusion with Hastings, the Governor General and put Nund Kumar to death in a desperate bid to save the latter. Philip Francis and clavering. the members of the Governor General's Council, described the Governor General and the Chief Justice as worst of murderers. Macaulay, referring to a letter of Hastings in which he had described Impey as "the man to whose support he was one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, his honour and his reputation," recorded that Impey hanged Nund Kumar in order to support Hastings and added "It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a Judge, put the man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose." Such was the beginning of the judiciary and the bureaucracy in India and the detritus of traditions left behind by it was lustily lapped up by their followers. The end, which was no less disgraceful, saw another conspiracy between a British Judge, Radcliffe, and a British Governor General, Mountbatten, who most treacherously stabbed the Muslims in the back by the atrocious Boundary Award in August, 1947.

To come back to my story, more or less this was the state of the British Judiciary and bureaucracy when the Quaid started his practice as a lawyer at Bombay. For a man of the high sense of honour and independence like the Quaid, the only modus-vivendi left was to fight the injustice and iniquity of the system with an equally free and fearless spirit. The jibing and jeering Judges and the brow-beating and bullying bureaucrats had to be paid back in the same coin. It required great courage and greater capability to do this. It was not a simple question of the prestige and position of a lawyer but it was a question of the cause of insulted humanity. It required a man of the heroic mould to compass this end. The Quaid was the man who did it. In a jungle of lawyers and advocates, he alone took up the challenge, joined the battle and left many a Judge and bureaucrat smarting under his sharp retorts and his biting cuts and thrusts, licking their wounds and nursing their mortified pride. He

was one advocate who never felt daunted or dismayed by any judge or bureaucrat. At the same time, he followed and observed the highest code of moral conduct and the best traditions of judicial behaviour. He was a man of live conscience and sensitive mind and was the most squeamish on points of honour and self-respect. If any body chose to tread on his kibe, he could not escape with impunity who-so-ever he was, high or low. Indeed, the higher the offender was placed, the sharper was the Quid's rejoinder. Dealing with this aspect of the Quaid's character, Hodson said :—

> "Jinnah never submitted to a slight. Anecdote after anecdote tells of his cutting rejoinders to anyone who snubbed him intentionally or un-intentionally, who-ever he or she might be——a judge, a Governor General, a Secretary of State, a Noble lady."

So this was the man who stood up, joined the battle and took the bubble out of many a bureaucratic baloon.

The first that dared to struggle will the foe.

The English legal system had devised the sweeping and the subtle law of contempt to safeguard the honour and the status of the judges from the scurrilous attacks and malicious on-sloughts of their detractors and denigrators. It is an excellent legal protection provided it is rightly and sparingly used. But if it is allowed to degenerate into an aggresive and offensive weapon to silence the voice of just criticism and fair comment, then it loses all its vitality and utility and becomes a brake on the processes of reform and improvement and starts working as a dull drag and a dead weight on progress. In that case it is reduced to a mere device destructive of spirit and ebullience. The law of comtempt hung like the Democles sword on the head of the Indian lawyers. This night-mare had brokendown their spirit and made them servile and slavish and foisted a dull and drab conformity as the rule of their life and labour. It partook of the conservatism, the reaction, the stagnation of the law of statusquo which, in the name of order and stability, sought to establish the supremacy of a measly mediocrity, placing a ban on all ideas of social development

and economic progress. The Quaid by his fighting spirit and enterprising nature created a flutter in the dovecotes of the judiciary and the bureaucracy. A man of high courage and quality always becomes the centre of respect and admiration, especially of the young men who are irresistibly attracted by high ideals and aspirations and who relish a struggle and cherish such moments and memories. The Quaid atonce became a hero and, as Mr. Alva, in his book 'Leaders of India' recorded :—

> "Mr. Jinnah cast a spell on the court-room, on the judges, the jury, the solicitors and the clients all alike. As Counsel he had his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. He has been our boldest advocate. No judge dare bully him. He will not brook insult. Jinnah's ready tongue and brillint advocacy had warded off all judicial storms and won him admiration all round."

Similarly, Mr. Chiman Lal Setalvad in his 'The Re-Collections and Reflections' said as follows :—

> "Jinnah had always, even in his junior days, shown considerable independence and courage, He never allowed himself to be over-borne either by the judge or the opposing counsel. Once an English Barrister Mr. Strangman, who had been engaged in a case as senior to Mr. Jinnah, the latter came to the former's chambers for consultation. Strangman behaved in an over-bearing manner and adopted a tone and temper which appeared insulting to Mr. Jinnah. He, therefore, not only discontinued all links with him but also ceased to wish him".

Another time while the Quaid was arguing a case, the Judge asked him to speak up saying "We cannot hear you". The Quaid said, that he was a barrister and not an actor and went on in his normal way. The judge again came down upon him with his insulting admonition, speak up. At this the Quaid raised his head,

looked full into the eyes of the judge and adopting a highly dignified tone said : "If your lordship removes that pile of books in front of you, you may be better able to hear me". The Judge had to resume his silence and to do what he was asked to.

Likewise, while the Quaid was presenting his case before Mr. Justice Mirza, a Muslim Judge, he interrupted him and snubbed him. The young Advocate changed his tone and tenor and addressed him in a manner which he thought was insulting. He said "Your tone and words could be held a contempt of court". Then he turned to the opposing Counsel and asked "Don't you agree wit me, Mr. Setalvad ?". At this Mr. Setalvad said that as far as he knew Mr. Jinnah never intended to insult the Court. Writing about this incident, Mr. Setalvad said that it was indeed stupid of the judge to put such a question to me because it was his jurisdiction to decide if Mr. Jinnah had committed contempt of court. After this incident. the Quaid decided not to attend the Court of Mr. Mirza.

The Quaid had a lofty moral purpose which animated his conduct, shaped his character and which always came to the fore in his behaviour. He had a firm and fearless pride in his profession as a lawyer. He epitomised its dignity and honour in his conduct and did not allow anybody, judge or bureaucrat, to cast any slight on it. At a time when most of the judges were Englishmen they showed no respect to the Indian advocates. Their attitude towards them was disdainful and contemptuous. One day, while the Quaid was arguing a case before an English Judge, who was bloated up by a sense of racial superiority and who suffered from an inflated sense of intellectual superciliousness, curtly said : "Mr. Jinnah. Mind You, this is not the court of a third Class Magistrate". Pat came the sharp riposte from the Quaid "And allow me, my Lord, to warn you that this is not a third class lawyer who is before you".

Another incident depicting this aspect of the Quaid's character has been described by another biographer who recorded that one day Sir Dinshaw Dawar started sermonising over the duty of a lawyer when his son Jahangir Dawar and the Quaid appeared late before him

in a case. His own son was responsible for the delay, yet the judge had turned the brunt of his sermon on the Quaid who, therefore, said "Sir, please, confine this lecture to your son whose arrogance was responsible for this delay and do not try to address it to one who has been practising for the last 25 years and is well aware of his duties as a lawyer".

Similarly, on another occasion, a judge observed that he should be respected for his gray hairs. At this, the irrepressible and ebullient Quaid said : "I am not going to respect those gray hairs unless there is wisdom behind them". This remark is highly significant. It shows the true mind of the Quaid who had no respect for the trinkets and trumperies of office. He respected the soul and substance, the worth and the wisdom in a man. This was his iconoclastic quality, the anti-Brahmanic principle of his nature.

Mr. Joachim Alva has given some examples of this fearless attitude of the Quaid and said that the clients and solicitors prized the services of Mr. Jinnah for his matchless grit and courage with which he pleaded the cause of his clients.

The example of high character and bold advocacy which the Quaid set while arguing his cases before the white masters and their black touts, who had built up a legend about their superiority and supremacy, their invincibility and infallibility, became the talk of the Bar Rooms and when-ever he passed by, the pleaders and the people pointed out to him as their champion and said ; "look ! there goes Mr. Jinnah."

A biographer has recorded a story that during the early lean years of the Quaid's practice, an importance case was being tried in the High Court. Mr. James Macdonald, the President of the Municipal Corporation, was occupying a seat in the enclosure meant for the advocates in the court room. Mr. Jinnah came in. No seat was vacant. He spotted Mr. Macdonald, strode up to him and asked him to move. He refused at which the Quaid went to the Clerk of the Court and asked him to remove Mr. Macdoanald from the Chair meant for the advocates. He showed his hesitation at which the

Quaid told him that he would then appeal to the judge. At this the miserable clerk walked up to Mr. Macdonald and asked him to vacate that seat. He did so and asked Mr. Jinnah's name, Macdonald liked the spirit of the Quaid and appointed him as the legal Adviser for the Corporation at Rs. 1000/- per month !

His honesty was always pre-emiment. As a junior coeval of his said, he was not one of those who were out to grab money. He had a high reputation for scrupulous probity in his dealings at the bar and kept it intact and unsullid. He was neitner a devotee of Mammon nor a votary of plutolatory. Once a Solicitor referred a client to him saying that he was a man of limited means. The Quaid took up his case and lost it in the original court. Yet he had faith in its soundness. So he suggested to the client that an appeal should be filed. The Solicitor again reminded the Quaid that he had no money. At this the Quaid told him that he would not charge any fee. The appeal was lodged and the case was won. When the Solicitor offered him a fee, the Quaid refused it saying that he had accepted the brief on the condition that there was no fee.

Similarly, when a client, pleased with his services, sent him an additional fee, the Quaid returned it with a note saying this is the amount you gave me, this is the fee, and here is the balance.

Like-wise, once he accepted a brief at a fee of Rs. 500/- per day. The client who was a man of means deposited Rs. 5000/- with the Quaid at the initial stage. The case came to an end in three days and the Quaid returned him Rs. 3500/-. He pressed him to keep it but the Quaid told him firmaly that he would not take a penny more than what was settled. The Quaid was not a slave to money. Once he refused the brief of a Maharaja as he did not think that he was in the right. When the Maharaja pressed him to accept it, he said "I am a Lawyer and not a tout". This shows his deep moral sensibility. He refused to pander to the Maharaja and kept up his professional integrity. He did not prostitute his talents for the purpose of making money. This reminds me of Demosthenes who had refused to prosecute an innocent party inspite of the pressure that the Government of the day brought to bear upon him. He stood up in the

Court room and addressing the Government party said "I am your counsel and I serve the people of Athens but I am no sycophant and I shall never accuse or prosecute an innocent man on false charges".

Hector Bolitho has recorded that he interviewed three Advocates at Bombay. They were contemporaries of the Quaid. All of them agreed on his honesty, independence and sense of justice. On a question from him, one of them added that he was genuinely fond of the Quaid because of his sense of justice and because inspite of political differences and bitterness he was a man without malice.

It was the Quaid who took up the defence of that rabid Hindu reactionary, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. who had declared that the Muslims were foreigners. When he was hauled up for sedition and put on his trial, it was the Quaid who came to his help. As Mr. K. L. Gauba wrote in his Passive Voices, Tilak took refuge behind the courage and ability of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a Muslim lawyer, who, as he told him, had reduced his fee for him. This shows how completely free from communal bias the Quaid was in the discharge of his professional duties. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that the Quaid added much lustre to his forensic reputation by his masterly conduct of two sansational law suits that aroused deep interest throughout the country, one for Tilak and the other for Horniman.

Syed Sharif Uddin Pirzada in his paper entitled the Judicial Verdict on Jinnah said that he was a triple combination of Carson's cross examination, Simon's subtlety of law and Marshal Halls marshalling of facts. In a letter to Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary to State for India, Gandhi Jee described the Quaid and Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru as ths two cleverest lawyers of India. Sir Stafford Cripps regarded the Quaid as a most accomplished lawyer, outstanding amongst Indian lawyers and a fine constitutionalist. Mr. Jayakar, a one time President of Congress and Judge of the Federal Court of India, quoting from a celebrated paper said "If you want a case to be expounded to you, you are bound some day or other to go to Mr. Jinnah. He possesses in a remarkable degree, both lucidity of phrase and clarity of vision." The Quaid had such a power over the Judges

and Juries that a contemporary said that when he put his monocle in his eye, raised his head, fixed his gaze on the Judge and started unfolding his arguments, he became literally omni-potent. Similarly, a Professor of Bombay who was frequently empanelled as a juror described him as the magician with the monocle. Mr. Justice Daver commented on the Quaid's great skill and conspicuous ability and careful elaboration. Another Judge appreciated his considerable skill and ability. Similarly the Chief Justice of the Lucknow Chief Court expressed his sense of great indebtedness to Mr. Jinnan for his extremely able arguments in the Raja of Nanpara case. Mr. Justice Blagden characterized him as a witness of truth and said "I must say that in all my experience I have never seen more obviously a witness of Truth than Mr. Jinnah.''

Mr. Justice Patrick Spens, the last Chief Justice of undivided India, said about the Quaid" there is no man or woman living who can impute anything against the honour and honesty of the Quaid. He was the most up right person that I know. Throughout, as far as I know, never did he attempt to deceive anybody as to what he was aiming at or as to the means he attempted to adopt to get it." Speaking of the Quaid's character before the Privy Council the same Judge said "He made a name before the most critical Judicial Tribunal in the World... Privy Council is about the most critical, tremendously critical and no one, who had not first class brains, great power of advocacy and, above all, great tact and politeness would have made in so short a time such a fine practice as Mr. Jinnah did before the Privy Council.'' Lord Jowitt of the Privy Council recalling his memories said "We all had great admiration for the great skill and the judgement with which he conducted his cases before the Privy Council."

Mr. M. C. Chagla, who later on became Chief Justice of Bombay High Court and a Minister in the Indian Cabinet, said about Quaid's advocacy : "Jinnah was a pure artist in the manner and method of his presentation. Even the most complex facts became simple and obvious when he waved his wand over them. He could be ferociously aggressive and powerful persuasive as and when the occasion arose...

had absolutely clear head... he had common sense, that most uncommon of qualities, in an uncommon degree."

The premier legal journal of Indja, the all India reporter, paid glowing tributes to the Quaid saying, "although Mr. Jinnah's career as a Political leader and as the representative of the successful Muslim movement for separation in India over shadowed all other aspects of his life, a legal journal like this has to take note of the fact that he was a lawyer of outstanding eminence and in his death the country has lost one of its greatest lawyers. As a brilliant Advocate he had few rivals. He was most universally recognized as a man of most impeccable integrity and honour by friend and foe alike for his incorruptibility. Mr. Jinnah's name will live in history as the greatest protagonist of the two nation theory in India and as the creator of Pakistan."

The Quaid had always had an open and receptive mind. He was neither a blind bigot nor a myopic maniac. He believed in Islam's eclectic principle which emphasized that we, as Muslims, should glean the good, make it our own and chuck out whatever is bed. He praised what was good and great in the English system and wanted to preserve it in Pakistan. In his address on August, 13, 1947, he fully and freely acknowledged the debt of gratitude that we owed to the British judicial system. He said "inspite of many acts of omission and commission, we cannot help recognizing that the British genius that ruled India for over a century did so to the best of its judgement and has left its mark in many spheres of life, especially the judicial system which has been the greatest bulwark and safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people." Similarly, he bestowed due praise on the excellence of the British judicial system as it obtained in England during his speeches in the Central legislature, as I will try to show in the next chapter.

The Court room conduct of the Quaid was a model for the budding and burgeoning lawyers. With his unshakeable determination to fight the injustices and iniquities, the oppressions and repressions that the British Bureaucracy practised on the people in India, the Quaid combined a deep respect for the finest traditions of the

English Judicial system. He took pride in the fact that he had been brought up and bred at the British temple of law and liberty. He had a scrupulous and squeamish regard for the impersonal and impartial way in which they administered justice, and he lovingly dwelt on it. When in his last days he was advised to ask the Nawab of Bhawalpur for loan of his house at Malir, he refused in words which show the eternal glory and greatness of the Quaid and which are an abiding testimony to his judicial sensibility. He recalled the days at Bombay and said : "whenever a lawyer was elevated to the Bench at Bombay, he took scrupulous care to maintain his complete independence and impartiality. He would sever all his connection with social life, discontinue his visits to the Clubs and stop attending the social functions. Some of them even gave up reading local Newspapers so that they were not influenced in their judgement by any account of the matter being tried before them, published in them" That was his concept of judicial impartiality and impersonality. As Governor General of Pakistan, he had set before himself the same Code of honour and integrity, impartiality and independence which the members of the judiciery were enjoined to practise. So he thought that he could not take the house of the Nawab without compromising his sense of independence. Such was the character of the Quaid.

As I said, the Quaid in all aspects of his Character and conduct was a model for his people. As a lawyer he has left behind a great legacy in the legal field which we should sedulously cultivate and assiduously emulate. Syed Yaqoob Hassan has recorded the story of the Bhopal Waqf case. Shah Jahan Begum of Bhopal was a great Muslim lady. Her second son who had a noble mind, created an educational Trust, devoting considerable amount of money to it, before his death. Afterwards, his rapacious successors who cared more for the filthy lucre than for the light of knowledge, tried to grab the money by securing a legal declaration on the invalidity of the Trust. They filed a suit in the High Court and engaged Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru as their counsel while the respondents secured the services of the Quaid. When the case was taken up for hearing, Sir

Sapru went on arguing it for three days. The case had taken a communal colour due to the religious affiliations of the two counsels. The Quaid kept sitting and listening to the lengthy and laborious arguments of the opposing counsel for all this time. On the 4th day, when his turn came, he stood up to rebut the arguments of Sir Sapru. He won the case in 5 minutes on the ground of jurisdiction. He said that under the law the Court had no jurisdiction to hear the case. He produced the law. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru admitted and said "Yes, My lord, he is right. I lose the case." People took it as a wonder and a miracle that the Quaid was able to demolish in a wink the huge edifice so carefully and consistently built up by the plaintiffs counsel in three days. This however, is not the main moral of the story. The basic point which I want to focus the attention on is the monumental patience of the Quaid who went on listening to the other counsel in perfect silence without showing any impatience and anxiety which is such a rare quality in these days of hurry and hustle when the learned Counsel becomes so impetuous and impatient that he keeps on interrupting his learned friend on the other side at every step and does not allow him to build up his case in a proper and peaceful atmosphere.

Hector Bolitho has recorded the story of a Barrister who, on his return from Gray's Inn, was taken to the Quaid by his father who was a friend of the Jinnah Family. The father asked the Quaid to make his son as brilliant as he himself was. The Quaid gave him the characteristic reply. He said "Your son may come and study in my chamber. But as to the rest, he must make his own brilliance by himself." This clearly indicates the attitude of the Quaid on matter of Sifarish and recommendation which are so rife and rampant in our Society and which cripple our youngmen who become so much used to parental props and Crutches that once they are removed, they lapse into complete idiocy and inanity. This also deprives deserving incumbants of the just rewards of merit and excellance. The Quaid did not believe in the primacy of birth and blood as determining factors regarding the worth of a man. He was of the view that a man should be honoured for his intrinsic qualities and not for the adventitious

accretions like family connections and ties. This, of course, is the basic fact in the character and career of the Quaid and this is also the fundamental factor in making or marring a nation. The flood of recommendations swamps the merit of the man and brings about the rule of mediocrity and meanness which degrades the nation and degenerates its character. This is the curse of the Barahmanic system against which the Quaid was pitted and to which the whole spirit of Islam is opposed. This quality of the Quaid had always been the upper-most in his character and conduct and, joined to other qualities, it set him over and above everybody else. He believed that an individual, like a nation, must secure his own salvation and that

> From this day forward we shall know
> that in ourselves our safety must be sought,
> that by our own right hands it must be wrought.

As a Leglstator

Law generally leads to legislation. After the Quaid had established himself as a front rank lawyer at Bombay, he also made a mark in the public affairs of the City. His immense prestige and reputation developed into a saga of high romance. His fearless and incomparable advocacy, his high sense of honour and integrity, had won him a place in the distinguished circles of Bombay. At that time, slowly and silently, the democratic institutions were coming up. The law making body at the Centre was called the Imperial Legislative Council. Its composition was of a queer natutre, indicative of the controlled pattern of the first democratic institution in the country. Only a fraction of the membership was based on the elective principle, part of it was nominated and part of it represented the various classes of special interests which again was more or less of the nominative type. The elective part of the Council drew its membership from the vast public field of India. The Quaid had won the seat assigned to the Muslims of Bombay in 1909. Thus he entered the field of legislation and started his career as a Legislator which was best suited to his constitutional temper and legal mind. The first and formost quality which characterised his mind and spirit was his stand for justice and fair-play in every matter, for every body. He opposed tryanny and in justice whereever it existed. This was the ingrained principle of his

nature and it found full expression in his character and conduct throughout the entire gamut of his career as a lawyer, legislator, politician and states-man.

I Champion of Muslim Rights.

He was a great parliamentarian, an excellent debator, an exquisite negotiator, a perfect strategist, a couragous fighter and a rare practitioner of the art of politics whose profession and practice conformed to the highest moral principles. This will appear from some of the great parliamentary triumphs and achievements of the Quaid which I will discuss in this chapter. The Quaid was a close and consistent champion of Muslim rights inside and outside the Legislative Council. Earlier, the Muslims had been in a serious predicament. They were hard-pressed between the might of the British and the money of the Hindus. The British considered them as their rivals since they had wrested power from them. They were always suspicious of them and dreaded their "intense feeling of nationality and their capability for war-like enterprises". So the British tried to cripple them in every way, economically as well as politically. As Lambrick wrote, the British looked upon the Muslims as natural enemies of Christianity and Britain. That is why they did their best to damage them and their interests. This led W. W. Hunter to remark that the Muslims were a race ruined under the British Rule. The door of services was closed on them and the advertisements carried the proviso that Muslims need not apply. The British took the Hindus as their natural friends and allies because they knew that the Muslims had ruled over them for a thousand years which fact they always resented, sometimes openly and sometimes secretly. They had secured control over India through the active collusion and collaboration of the Hindus. So both of them had joined hands to exterminate the Muslim power aud extirpate the Muslims Unity where-ever any glimmer of it was still visible. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan has given details of this anti-Muslim campaign of the British in his Book on the causes of the great rising. Since the Muslims were the moving force behind the great rising of 1857, they were subjected to utter ruin. One way to wreck and ruin the Muslim power and position was to confiscate and take over the Muslim landed

estates and properties. Absolutely baseless reasons were invented to deprive and despoil the Muslims of their large holdings. Hordes of gangsters, informers and racketeers were employed against Muslims to bring charges of rebellion and mutiny, either of direct acts of commission or of aidding and abetting it. Thus they secured orders on the proscription and forfeiture of Muslim properties. Another method of relieving the Muslims of their lands was resort to judicial orders. Some years earlier, the Privy Council had given a judgement in a Waqf Case which was not only against all the canons of the Muslim law but was also calculated to erode the position of the Muslim Auqaf and to nullify it altogether. This decision of the privy Council had created a deep sense of discontent and disgust among the Muslims.

The matter had been taken up at various levels by the Muslim leaders but no suitable remedy was insight. At this hour of their dire need, the young Mohammad Ali Jinnah came up to their help and took up the cause of Muslim Auqaf. First he made a brilliant and beautiful speech about it at the Congress Session held in Calcutta. His intention was to secure the cooperation of the Congress leaders on this most sensitive and serious issue facing the Muslims through an intelligent exposition of their case. He dealt with the matter at great length in the light of Muslim Law and brought ouf its full implication and impact as it made on the Muslim Mind and the Muslim Rights and showed the vast damage that it had done to the Muslim Auqaf. Thus he won the support of the Congress. He also convinced the leading English legal lights of the justice of the Muslim case. Thereafter, he introduced the Mussalman Waqf Validating Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 17, 1911. He was Incharge of the Bill and pilotted it through the various stages. He made several brilliant speeches. In the beginning, the Government did not want to undertake the legislation on the subject with the express object of upsetting the judicial decision to which the exception had been taken. But later on they declared that they were prepared to accord their fullest consideration to any specific proposal for legislation initiated with the intent to secure family settlement of limited nature provided such

proposals were taken up by the Muslim Community. Dealing with it the Quaid said :

> "While I was engaged on this Mission, I had the opportunity of consulting the leading Muslims in this country and it was after a great deal of discussion that I decided that the only way in which this question, which is of paramount importance to the Muslim Community, can be solved was to bring a Bill in this Council. Recently, the Muslim League, which represents the great volume of Muslim Nation in this country, had at its last session passed a resolution to this effect that Govt. should undertake this legislation. The Society known as "Nadwat-ul-Ulema" which is composed of the learned Maulvis and the men of learning in the Law, has sent a memorial to the Govt. A copy of that Memorial was sent to me by that great and learned Maulvi who is known as Maulana Shibli who exercises great influence over the Muslim Community and whose opinion is of the greatest value to the country, so far as the Muslim Community is concerned......You will see that the feeling of the Muslims in this country on this point is very very strong. The question now before the Council is, what is this issue that has been agitating the Mussalaman Community? It is the decison of Privy Council in 1894 that has, to our minds, paralysed the Muslim Law so far as the power of a Mussalaman to make a trust for his family, his children and his descendents is concerned......The decision of the Privy Council, the highest Tribunal in the Empire, gave the severest blow to the law of 'Waqf Alal Aulad. The subject, I may tell you, is this. There are two institutions under the Mohammadan Law, one is Hiba and other is Waqf. Hiba means an out-and-out gift. The Mohammadan Law permits a Mussalaman to make a gift of his property out-and-out. He cannot under the Law of Gift create different estates, such as life estate, remainder,

vested remeinder and continued remainder. He cannot, therefore, make any provision of any future character for his family or his children. He has got to give away the property straight off. Then comes the other branch of Law of Mussalaman which is called Waqf. It is analogous —somewhat analogous—to the Law of Trust in English Law and that again is divided in two parts. It may be private trust with ultimate reversion to charity or it may be charitable trust pure and simple......Now the question that we are concerned with in this Bill is the question of private trust with ultimate reversion to charity because even today, according to Muslim Law as well as the Laws of all other countries, well-known to all Jurisprudents of the different countries, you may dedicate property to charity in perpetuity and the rules that offend the law of perpetuity do not apply. However, we are only concerned wilh the Trust which I would call Private Trust with ultimate reversion to charity. Here, I may remind the Council that the testamentary power of a Mussalaman is limited. He can only dispose of 1/3 of his property by will......testamentary disposition cannot be made in favour of heirs, or any particular heir unless all the heirs consent to it after the death of the testator. In the Bombay High Court, the decision was laid down against the Mohammadan Law in 1873. After that in 1892 ann 1894 other decisions came in and in a way over-ruled the previos decisions. Until in 1894 we came to the decision of the Privy Council......The main point, the principal point, we are concerned with is the proposition of the Privy Council that unless there is substantial dedication to charity, the Waqf is illusory and, therefore, bad. I say with the greatest deference and utmost respect for the Lords of the Privy Council that that decision is not in accordance with the true principles of Mohammadan Law. Their exposition of our law is opposed to the

fundamental principles of Islamic Jurisprudence. If a man can not make Waqf Allal Aulad, as it is laid down in our Law, then it comes to this that he cannot make any provision for his family or children at all and the consequences are that it has been breaking up the Muslim families. Of course, the result of this decision has been, first of all, that Waqfs have been hunted down. Ancient Waqfs that have been in existence and in operation for years have been hunted down in all part of India and declared invalid. This is one effect of the decision. The other effect is that it probibits you from making any settlement in favour of your family and children. Therefore, that being the state of our law at the present moment, the Muslim Community feels that the only way in which it can possibly put this state of things right is by an appeal to legislation".

Thereafter, the Quaid cited some authorties on the Muslim Law like Justice Amir Ali, Sir Wilson, Sir W.C. Petheran, Lord Hobhouse and also dealt with the subject as it was practised in the Muslim countries like Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Turkey and continued :—

"You will see, Sir, that at present moment while the position of the Mussalamans under the Privy Council's decision is, so to say, an impasse, in other countries such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Egypt and even in the native states of India, such as Nizam's, Dominion and others, the true Muhammadan Law is administered in matters of this kind......Is the Mussalaman to be deprived of his power, of his right which is given to every one under any system of jurisprudence, to make an adequate provision for his family and children ? You have, on the one hand, taken away that power. On the other hand, there is no corresponding power to enable him to get over it. Teerefore, if I may put it in this way, you have out off an important limb of the body of the Jurisprudence of Islamic Law......We all know that the insti-

tution of Waqf is entirely inter-woven with the religious life, social life and the basic principles of the Community and the result is Disruption of Muhammadan Families, a revolution in the Law of Property under Mohammadan Law."

With these words, the Quaid introduced the Bill which was referred to the Select Committee. In April 1913, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, moved that the report of the Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration. He replied to the objection that had been raised against the Bill. The Hindus, as financiers, looked upon themselves as creditors and, as such, apprehended that this Bill will militate against their rights. So they wanted protection against fraud upon creditors. While dealing with this, the Quaid said :—

"Fraud on the creditors may be divided into two parts, first, a fraud which may be practised when the Waqf is created. So far as that part of the Law is concerned, there are safe guards, as I said already, in the Mohammadan Law. With regard to the fraud which may be practised upon the creditors after the Waqf has been actually created, it seems to me that we have got already the Registeration Act that lays down that every Waqf made in writing must beregistered and that notice by virtue of its being registered is a sufficient safe-guard to that extent. No doubt, a Mussalaman may make an oral Waqf and in that case it may prejudice the creditors to a certain extent. The answer to that is that this is Muhammadan Law and you cannot over-ride it......My Hindu Friends must also understand this that oral Waqf affects the Mussalaman, to a greater extent, it prejudices them to a much greater extent than it would the creditors, who may happen to be Hindus, for this reason that it will depreciate the Muslim title to the property to a great extent."

After a lengthy discussion on the adoption of the Bill, Mr.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah again spoke in reply to the criticism made by the honourable members. He said :—

> "The honourable member criticised the Bill very firmly and said that this Bill was not the Momammadan Law and that the decision of the Privy Council was Mohammadan Law. Well, with very great respect for him, he is entitled to his own opinion. Every man is entitled to his opinion. But, with very great deference, I may point out to him that the highest authorities, Muslim and English Jurists of great eminence have declared, with the utmost deference for that great Tribunal, the Privy Council, that their decision is not in accordance with Mohammadan Law. The whole of my Commuuity is of the opinion that the Privy Council's decision is not the correct exposition of Muhammadan Law. Therefore, our only remedy was to appeal to legislation......The only question, as I pointed out, is the question of unsecured creditors and if a man while he is making a waqf is insolvent and he makes the Waqf in order to defraud, defeat or delay his creditors, then I say, without any hesitation, that that Waqf will be set aside by any court of law under the Mohammadan Law".

The Bill, due to the energetic and eminent advocacy of the Young Mr. Jinnah was passed into an act. As Mrs. Sarojiji Naidu said, The Quaid's admirable skill and tact in pilotting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private mmmber—won him not only the appreciation of his collegues but also his first meed of general recognition from his coreligionist all over India.

II. Champion of Human Rights.

On March 19, 1912, Mr. G.K. Gnkhale moved the Elementary Education Bill. The Quaid regarded Education as the light of the mind and the substance of the soul. He gave first priority to it in his scheme of Reform. The Bill, therefore, called forth the best powers

of his intellect and his speech on it is a rare specimen of beauty brilliance, energy and advocacy. The Government stood for voluntary and gradual extension of education while Gokhale and the Quaid wanted to go ahead with the dissemination of education at a high speed and they also were anxious to make it compulsory. The fire of the Quaid's soul burst out when it was argued from the Treasury Benches that the educational measure could not be rushed through as Government was of the view that education bred sedition, that school buildings and school teachers were in short supply, that funds were not available, that additional taxation proposal for education will render the Government unpopular, that there were social and political dangers inherent in lhe Bill etc. The Quaid cut through all these specious arguments and said :—

> "We should do all this to improve the masses of this country to whom you owe much greater duty than to anybody else. You must remove that reproach that is levelled justly against the British Rule, namely, the neglect of Elementary Education. It is the duty of every civilised Government to educate the masses and, if you have to face unpopularity, if you have to face certain amount of danger, face it boldly in the name of duty, and I say in this Councial here without hesitation that you will have the whole educated public of this country with you in this struggle on the battle-field......As for the political danger and the social danger that there will be strikes by the socialists if you give them education, that they will become agitators, well, Sir, I honestly and sincerely appeal to the Government. Do you really think that education means sedition ? I think that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or its measures is the duty of every member of the State......Surely, a fair and free and independent criticism of the acts of Government and of the measures of Government does not constitute sedition...... We know the blessings of education, the boon that

education brings......It is said that the people will become too big for their boots, that they will not follow the occupation of their parents, that they will demand more rights and become socialists and there will be strikes. Well, Sir, are you going to keep miliions and millions of people trodden under your feet for fear that they may demand more rights ? Are you going to keep them in ignorance and darkness for ever and for all ages to come because they may stand up against you and say that they have certain rights which you must give to them ? Is that the feeling of humanity ? Is that the spirit of humanity ? I say it is the duty of the land-lords and the zamindars to be a little less selfish......They must not monopolise the peasants, they must be prepared to meet their people. They must be prepared to be brought down from their pedestal if they do not do their duties properly. I say that it is the elementary right of every man to say if he is wronged that he is wronghd and that it should be righted".

It was during this speech that the Quaid gave vent to his famous stand saying "I yield to none in that respect" when the question of Muslim rights was raised, indicating that he will not compromise the cause of his Community with anyone or any party.

The Quaid was a great democrat and an uncompromising champion of the civil liberties and the human rights like freedom of speech, opinion, assembly, movement etc. He put up a glorious fight against the despotic laws and arbitrary attacks on the rights of the citizens by the Executive. On September 19, 1918, Mr. Khaparde moved a resolution in the Legislative Council asking for an investigation into the working of the Defence of India Rules and the Press Act. The Quaid made a brilliant and patriotic speech against the Press Act and said :—

"This Act has the defect of all measures which do not come under the purview of judicial supervision because it is a measure which has got to be administered by the

Executive......This Act has been administered in the most arbitrary manner and you cannot prevent it, you cannot avoid it......when arbitrary powers are given to the heads of Departments and Executive officers, it must be remembered that they are human beings, they have got likes and dislikes and they have their own prejudices. And remember that there is no appeal, it is final......I would not wish for a single moment that any culprit, who is guilty of sedition, who is guilty of causing disaffection, who is guilty of causing race-hatred, should escape. But at the same time, I say, protect the innocent, protect those journalists who are doing their duty and who are serving both the public and the Government freely, independently, honestly—which is an education for any Government. I know that officials are sensitive to criticism and we have a very typical example in my honourable friend Col : Auplin. He is mortally afraid of criticism......you cannot make the people happy by keeping them ignorant. It may be easier to govern them that way but it is not a model form of Government".

Similarly the Quaid took up the Rowlatt Committee Report into criminal conspiracies and the extraordinary powers given to the Executive to deal with them and dealt with this question which constituted an egregious encroachment on the rights of the people, in a most critical manner. The Government was of the opinion that it should be treated as a crime and not a political matter. The Quaid differed from the Home Member and was of the view that the matter was very much political in nature and that the Government should find out its cause. He said that there were no criminal consparicies in the country before 1906 when the first Bomb was thrown and then there was a spate of such explosions up to 1918. He went into its background and gave a full and clear analysis in the following words :—

"Surely it cannot be that all of a sudden these men became regular criminals. The cause is that there is dis-

> content, there is dissatisfaction, there is unrest. It is partly, if not wholly, due to your policy...no amount of laying down laws on the status book will solve this problem. You will have to change your policy.....the measures—demanding security, restricting residence, requiring abstention from Acts like Journalistic engagements, distributing leaflets, attending meetings, reporting ones movements to the police, making arrests, issuing search warrants and confining people to penal custody—these measures will not put an end to the crimes that you want to see ended, but will lead to further crimes, and no civilized country, I make bold to say in this Council, can tolerate much less sanction, measures of this character... It will be much better to adopt a judicial procedure to deal with the problem, instead of giving powers to the Executive, it should be given to the judicial tribunal".

After this the Government went ahead and putting aside all democratic considerations and compunctions, brought in The Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill on February 6, 1919, a highly despotic measure, making an all round onslought on civil rights. The Quaid termed it as an abhorrent and shocking law and trenchantly criticized it on the following grounds :—

> "It was against the fundamental principles of law and justice, namely, that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial, in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure, that this was a wrong remedy for the disease, the revolutionary crimes, that to substitute the Executive for the Judicial will lead to the abuse of these vast powers, that there was no precedent or parallel in the legal history of any civilized country to the enactment of such laws, that this was the most inopportune moment for this legislation as high hopes about momentous reforms had been raised, that the people were not well-disposed towards the proposed measures

which were going to be of a permanent nature and not temporary and, lastly, that if these measures were passed they will create unprecedented discontent, agitation and will have the most disastrous effect upon the relations between the Government and the people." After this the Quaid said :—

"The Government is now so enamoured of these powers that it boldly asks the lagislature to enact these measures permanently which, to my mind, are subversive of all principles of jurisprudence...... I cannot trust the Executive because I am a firm believer—I do not care how many Rowallat Committees will decide and recommend—that no man's liberty should be taken away for a single moment without a proper judicial inquiry... You will clap many innocent people who will not be able to resist the Executive orders... The whole inquiry will be in camera, behind the back of the person accused......this measure is of most serious character, it is dangerous. It imperils the liberty of the subject and the fundamental rights of a citizen...no man's liberty will be safe in this country. There will be an end to political life and freedom in this country. If a person happens to incur the displeasure of a few high officials in a Province, I say that man is not safe and he has got no remedy...the whole of the country is opposed to these measures which have been brought in by an Executive Government which has no mandate from the people...I say to Mr. Iron-side, please peruse your own history, your people in England have faught for this liberty since the time of King John and Shed their blood in order to maintain this principle—that no man's liberty is to be taken away without a trial... Even under the Defence of the Realm Act in England at the time of the great War, no British subject could be interned for more than six days without trial unless he was of hostile

origin or association... I would ask Mr. Ironside to read a judgement of Lord Shaw delivered in 1917... A German but naturalized British subject was interned for 18 months. Members of the English Bar and some of the Judges subscribed to his Defence Fund in order to bring his case to the House of Lords. I have been brought up in your Schools, Englishmen have been my masters and I think that this measure before the Council involves upheaval of constitutional rights... Another argument which was advanced by my friend Mr. Ironside is that if you make any concession to public opinion, it will at once be taken as a sign of weakness. Such a monstrous argument had never been advanced before this Council.... I am begininning to think at the end of these two days if it is not sheer waste of public time...... it is an agony to me to sit here and see this mockery of debate going on."

After this the Quaid quoted Blackstone from the judgement of Lord Shaw and said :—

"Blackstone is quite clear upon the practice of the Constitution. He searchingly treats the case of both, of liberty and of life, as test both and equally of one and the same principle—the very principle which is under scrutiny in the present case, to rob a man of life or by violence to confiscate his estate without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of deposition as must in advance convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole Kingdom, but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to jail where his sufferings are unknown or forgotton, is a less public and less striking and, therefore, a more dangerous engine of arbitrary Government. And yet some times when the state is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure. But the happiness of our Constitution is that it is not left to the Executive powers to

determine when the danger of a state is so great as to render this measure expedient. The authority is Parliment only or Lagislative powers that whenever it seems proper can authorise the Crown, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons without giving any reasons for so doing.

I am not satisfied that you have made out a case to ask us to place these powers into your hand... Even the Star Chamber were condemned because, in the words of Maitland, it was a court of politicians enforcing a policy, not the court of Judges administering the law. That is what you will constitute yourselves, a court of Politicians, and, what is worse, even without the semblance of a trial as there was in the Star Chamber."

The Quaid-e-Azam again rose to speak on the amendment and quoted Lord Shaw in the Daniel's case as follows :—

"The first proposition : no man can be imprisoned upon the will and pleasure of any, but a bondman or villain.

the second proposition : if a free man of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the King, or by his Command, he were in a worse case even than a villain. The third proposition : a free man imprisoned without cause is civilly dead."

The Quaid then dealt with the possible results of the provisions of the said Bill and said :—

"First, the selection of the victim will be left to the plenary discretion of the Bureaucracy. Second, it means negation of public safety and defence. Third, it is a poison to the Common-wealth. The Quaid again quoted from the same authority which said, in the exercise of powers that the Government have, the

plainest teachings of history and dictates of justice demand that, on the one hand, Government powers and, on the other individual rights, these two shall face each other as party and party. Here, in the provisions of this bill, the Government as a party shall act at its own command, the subject, as a party, shall submit and shall not be heard. The Government is at once to be a party, a Judge and an executioner... Part III of this Black Bill—is the blackest. I speak with this passion, with this earnestness, with this feeling because if it finds its place on the statute book, it will tarnish the fair name of India and Great Britian. I love India but I do not love the Great Britian the less because it has been the home of my training and education."

The Criminal Law amendment (Emergency Powers) Bill, which is also known as the Rowlatt Act, was passed in the third week of March, 1919. The Quaid-e-Azam was so much shocked by this Act of British denial of human rights that on March, 28 he resigned his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council, in a glorious bid to vindicate his lofty principles. He wrote a letter to the Viceroy. This letter of resignation which is the most memorable and the most magnificent statement of his faith is as follows :—

"Your Excellency,

The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by your Excellency as Governor General against the will of the People, has severly shaken the trust reposed by them in British Justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the Constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is a Legislature but in name—a machine propelled by a foreign Executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian Members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect.

"The Government of India and your Excellency, however, have thought it fit to place on the Statute book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, there by substituting the Executive for the judicial.

"Besides, by passing this bill, your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britian avowedly faught the war.

"The fandamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time, when there is no danger to the state, by an over-fretul and incompetent bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused.

"I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the bill and the manner in which it was passed tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in Council Chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside.

In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace foreits its claim to be called a Civilized Government and I still hope that the Secretary of State for India Mr. Montague will advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act.

Yours Truly,

M. A. Jinnah."

The Rowlatt Act was, however, revoked subsequently. But on March, 23, 1925, Sir, Alexander Muddiman introduced another despotic measure, the Bengal Criminal Law, Amendment Act, (Supplementary Bill) in the Assembly. Since this bill was designed to make a serious encroachment on the civil liberties of the people and it gave powers to the Executive to lock up a man for any length of time without a trial and deprived him of his rights under the Habeas Corpus Act in peace time, the Quaid characterized it as an engine of oppression and bitterly opposed it. Since it was rejected by the Assembly, it was presented to the King for assent by the British Parliament. The Parliament placed it on the statute book and the king assented to it. Quaid's speech shows his sublime and supreme love of liberty, his burning passion for human rights and his deep sense of justice. He subjected the bill to a scathing criticism and said :—

> "It is nothing but a disgrace to any civilized Government to resort to a measure of this character, it is absurd, absolutely demoralizing, de-generate and not worthy of an Englishman... I am shocked that such an abhorrent measure, that this abomination, should have been placed on the table of the British Parliament and should have been allowed to pass the scrutiny without the resentment which ought to have been shown against this measure. I am one of the greatest admirers of British Parliament but when the British Parliament has come to this, I think I am entitled to say that it certainly has lost the title of Mother of Parliments which it claims. Now His Majesty has given his assent to the Bill. The Under Secretary of State, Lord Winterton, had the boldness, the temerity to stand up on the floor of that British Parliament, the Champion of the liberty of the people. What did he say ? he said : 'the Act does not contemplate any trial.' When Mr. Lansbury asked him, is there any limit ? he said, 'the Statute does not provide for any limit.' That means that you can

lock up as many men as you like according to the advice of your Executive and Police indefinitely, or as long as you like and the man has no right to claim trial or have a trial... This is an engine of oppression and of repression of legitimate movement in this country and it has been abused in the past and is likely to be abused in future... If I were an official and if I felt that my life was in danger and I was going to be shot down, even like a dog, I should never be a party to a measure which will endanger the life and liberty of the innocement people as this measure undoubtedly does. I appeal to the Englishmen, I appeal to the Bureucrats who are sitting on that bench to rise higher and not to be nervous and lose sight of these great noble, fine, magnificent principles of justice... You are again, by pursuing this policy in this obdurate manner, creating a crisis in the country. I warn you, as I had the opportunity to warn you when you were enacting the Rowlatt Act... Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto in 1909 in a similar matter : 'it is like the Czar and the Duma. Are we to say you shall have reforms and you be quiet, meanwhile we should not listen to what you say, mean while there is plenty of Courts—Martials, lettre de cachet, and the other paraphernalia of law and order....' That policy, packing off train—loads of suspects to Siberia did not work out brilliantly in Russia and did not save the lives of the Trepoffs nor did it save Russia from a Duma, the very thing that the Trepoffs and the rest of the offs deprecated and detested. I appeal to every member who has a grain of self respect, an iota of the sense of justice and fair play, to vote against these clauses."

III. Champion of Constitutional Reforms.

Earlier in 1923, the Quaid was again elected to the Central Legislature. He formed an Independent Party and led it with great

distinction. The public opinion wanted the Government to take steps to revise the Government of India Act, 1919 for constitutional advance of the country towards the establishment of a full responsible Government in India. But the Government did not want to take India into Confidence in the matter. They took rather an esoteric and unorthodo step which was enuniciated by the Home Member in the Assembly. A Committee exclusive of the Indian participation had been appointed to go into the matter. The Indian opinion was sharply against it. The Quaid speaking on February 5, 1925, said:—

> "Sir, just imagine. Ascheme is to be formulated by a departmental inquiry which will, ex hypothesis, be framed in the secret conclave and the secret chambers of the Executive. The Government of India will take those decisions of formulating the proposals after they are formulated, they will go again to the Secretary of State for India where they will be considered and examined behind closed doors and when definite proposals have been formulated and serious decisions have been arrived at, you will then present the scheme to this legislature—with what chance of its being modified at that stage ? I say it is an entirely wrong procedure to adopt... For the progressive realization of a full responsible Government in India, the will of the legislature, which is responsible to the electorate, must prevail over the Executive."

The Quaid carried on his unceasing and untiring struggle for Constitutional Reforms in the Assembly throughout its appointed duration. In this connection he spoke on the demand for Executive Council Reforms, on the Reforms Inquiry Committee recommendations, on extension of reforms to N.W.F.P., on reform and representation, on Frontier Reforms, on general budget and constitutional reforms. He continued this fight at the Round Table Conference and at the meetings of the Joint Parlimentary Committee.

The Quaid wanted to make use of the Constitution of 1919 for what it was worth, to serve the people thereby and to make it a

stepping stone for further advance. But the Swarajist group of the Congress had entered the Assembly with a clear policy to wreck it and not to work it. As Pandat Moti Lal Nehru put it, his party was there to mend it or end it. But when the Quaid confronted him with his own declared policy and said that it was destructive, he tried to circumvent it through verbal twists and turns, as was the Congress strategy. The Congress had originally accepted the reforms. Pandat Moti Lal had said : "Let us not be-little the good that the Act does us. We must recognize that it gives us some powers and opens out new avenue of service for us which had hither to been closed to Indians" But later on, he launched upon a policy of wrecking it. The Quaid told him on March 18, 1925, during his speech on the Finance Bill that he was not going to get him to pursue a policy of obstruction, to pursue a policy of wrecking and recklessness. The Quaid took the reality of the situation into view and made a practical approach to the problem. He said :—

> "It is no use for-getting our difficulties. It is no use being carried away by emotion. Emotion is a very good thing, sentiment is a very good thing. The realization of wrongs inflicted is undoubtedly a very fine quality in a man. I admire it, I appreciate it. I feel all those emotions. I endorse all those feelings of resentment against wrongs. But sir, I also feel that my people, my country at this moment are illorganized, are helpless, are powerless, and I cannot make this Government impossible. It is not that I do not feel it, it is not that I do not realize it. But I do not wish to disguise the feeling, I feel it in every fibre of my being—but I regret and am sorry—I feel humiliated—that I am unable to bend the Government. But despite that, I am not in a position nor are my people in a position today to make this Government impossible. At present it is not a practical proposition."

The Quaid always maintained an independent and honourable attitude in the Assembly and took every occasion to attack the Gov-

ernment and criticise its wrong and ruinous policies. Speaking on the recommendations of the Reforms Inquiry Committee he said :—

> "The extraordinary events at Amritsar moved the blood of every man, womon and child in this country. Sir, the Punjab question no longer exists, Jallianwala Bagh we cannot forgive, but we are willing to forget. The treaty of Sevres is gone, the Khilafat question does not exist in that acute form. But the question of Swaraj remains.

> He attacked the principle of dyarchy, quoting Lord Birkenhead who had described it as a cumbrous, complex and confused system, having no logical basis, rooted in compromise and defensible only as a transitional expedient, and Lord Montagu, who had said that all nations should have the opportunity to control their own destinies. He pulverised the trusteeship theory as an old and exploaded theory, devoid of all moral grounds. He dwelt on the horror of being kept out of administrative and Government of one's own country, the horror of helplessness in defence of our country, the horror of keeping a large body of people in darkness, denying them even elementary education. Then he touched on the glorious theme of freedom in a lofty and lambent spirit and said :—

> "We want to free ourselves from these horrors and there is one way and one way alone for India to free herself from these horrors and that is to replace that irresponsible bureaucracy by a Cabinet responsible to the legislature of the representatives of the people... Let me tell you this. India today is in a very critical condition. Believe me, I do not say this as a word of menace or threat but, let me tell you, India is determined to win-her freedom. The manner and the measures and the time, either your determine in a

reasonable spirit or else she will determine it for herself."

Speaking on the demand for Executive Council and reforms, in a forthright speech he described the 26 official members of the Assembly as automatons. He said :—

> "They have no freedom. They are not supposed to have any judgement or any conscience so long as they occupy those benches. They are merely 26 machines, automatons and they have to obey orders.... They come in as machines under the Government of India Act. I can make a present of these 26 votes to Government... If we carry our motion against the Government inspite of these 26 machines, it will redound to the lasting shame and disgrace of the Government if they do not carry out our wishes and give effect to this vote."

The Quaid fought a long battle for the extension of the Constitutional reforms to N.W.F.P. The swarajist Hindus opposed this move. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the fore-most man to bar the way. The Quaid appealed to him to treat this question in the same spirit as he would treat the question of any other province. But he refused to see reason as N.W.F.P. was a Muslim majority Province and the Hindus, in their rabidly narrow minded approach, did not want the Muslims to come into their own in their Province. The Pandit raised many objections to the question of N.W.F.P. getting the constitutional reforms saying that they were not fit to manage their affairs. The Quaid on February, 16, 1926, made a reply to these lame excuses and said :—

> "The Frontier People are not behind the rest of India either in intelligence or in capacity to manage their own affairs. Their aspiration for reforms has been awakened to full consciousness and will not be satisfied by anything short of the essentials of the reforms enjoyed elsewhere."

At this Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer said that it was not supported by evidence. The Quaid said "the evldence certainly does not support the idea that they are wanting in intelligence, that they are wanting in capacity, that they are wanting in man-liness. One of the members of the Minority Community, Mr. Ranga praised their great qualities of head and heart. If that is the evidence you want, there it is...if you wish to say this that there happens to be a small minority of Hindus and that you apprehend that the minority will be entirely at the mercy of the Mussalman majority and, therefore, the N.W.F.P. must be amalgamated with the Punjab, I can understand that argument ... but let me say to my friend Sir, Sivaswamy and Pandit Malaviya... Are you going to force these people against their will and the will of the Punjab itself, to be amalgamated with the Punjab? What benefit would you get if no reforms are given to this Province and what prejudice, what harm will be caused to the Hindus if the reforms are given to this Province? Do not you ask for it in Madras?

Ranga : Exactly.

Quaid : Then why should they not have it? Is there one principle for the people of India and another for the people of N.W.F.P.? You say they are not fit. You say they are incompetent. So the rest of India will keep N.W.F.P. under your heels and under your subjection... They are living today under an administration of which an Anglo Indian Paper, the Times of India, wrote as follows :—

"While fighting the battle of freedom day by day, these Hindu organizations yet find it in their heart to advoaate continuance of the obscurantist, medieval principles of Government, bureaucratic high-handedness and policy of Zoolum for which the Frontier Government has been so often criticised. Do you want that to continue' ?"

Pandit Malaviya flew into a fury on this question and the Quaid said that so did Glabstone who was often led away in rage and fury on the Bulgarian question.

On March, 13, 1928, the Quaid said :—

> "My faith still remains bright, firm and strong in my own people. That is the first thing you have got to make up you mind about. Have you faith in your own people or not ?... This bogey which has been trotted out and which was held up as the most formidable difficulty in the way of the Government giving effect to the recommendations of the Bray Committee on N.W.F.P. Reforms which is still under consideration is now exploded."

On March, 28, 1929, the Quaid framed his famous 14 points on the policy and programme of the Muslim League for the forthcoming Constitutional Reforms and demanded reforms for N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. Ultimately, the Government bowed to the Muslim demand and the reforms were extended to the N.W.F.P.

Similarly the Quaid fought for the separation of Sind from Bombay which too was opposed by the Hindus who said that Sind was a deficit area, that it will not be self-supporting and self-governing, that it was not a sound financial proposition and that correct data were not available to determine the viability of Sind as a separate Province. The Quaid had made out a strong case for separation of the Sind before the Sind Committee of the Round Table Conference. The merchants and magnates of Bombay who had joined hands with the Marwaries of Sind in a bid to keep the Muslims in the back-waters and subject to the pull and push of Bombay, opposed the move for separation with the undeclared intent to neutralise and to nullify the Muslim majority in Sind. It was, therefore, an economic as well as a political conspiracy against the muslims of Sind to keep it tagged on to Bombay. The Quaid who had an abiding interest in the up lift and welfare of all the backward peoples and regions, especially for the improvement and betterment of the lot of the Muslims, made every effort to secure the release of Sind from the strangle-hold of Bombay. Giving his evidence before the Sind Committee of the R.T.C. he said :—

"In the matter of Sind, there are some interested parties, there are vested interests, there may be commercial interests. All over the world it is so. Naturally they look at it only from their point of view as a Class. There may be commercial classes, a service class that may apprehend that they will suffer from a change in the Constitution in respect of their jobs ... vested interests think of themselves and nothing else. They are concerned with their own immediate lives and interests and they do not want to be disturbed in the comfortable position in which they find themselves in Sind. But I would ask the sub-committee to look at the question not from the point of view of a particular Class or section or interest. I would beg of this sub-committee to look at it from the point of view of the good and happiness and the interest of the people of Sind."

It was due to the persistent and positive advocacy of the Quaid that Sind was ultimately separated from Bombay.

IV. Champion of Administrative Reforms.

Another glorious chapter in the parlimenary career of the Quaid relates to his long, continuous and courageous fight for the Indianization of the various civil and military services. In this connection his speech on the Recommendations of the Lee Commission, his fight for the establishment of a Military College in India, his efforts for the indianization of Railways, indianization of half the cadre of officers, indianization of the Army and his fine work on the Skeen Committee were invaluable. Speaking on the report of the Lee Commission in the Central Assembly on September 12, 1924, the Quaid said that the question involved two great principles. First, further constitutional advance and, second, the administrative reforms of the superior Services. He wanted that the control and recruitment of the two Pivotal services, the Civil and the Police, should vest not in the Secretary of State but in the Government of India. He also dispelled the doubts of the incumbents of the services about their

future treatment saying that it will be the fairest and the justest. He also said that no Government could be unfair and unjust to its services and that it was the legal and moral obligation of every Government to see that the just grievances of the services were redressed. He also contended that the administrative reform were not compatible with the maintenance of the traditional characteristics of the services. He pointed out that it was not the colour—White or dark—which was the determinant of the quality and competency of the services and that the Mysore Civil and Police services were just as efficient and people there were just as happy with them although no white man was there. He characterised the caste distintions in the services as vicious and intolerable. He did not want, in other words, that the principle of Brahmanism should flourish and bear its poisonous fruits.

The Quaid had toured America, Canada, England and France with the sub-committee of the Skeen Committee and studied the defence System of those countries with a view to making an eclectical application of their good qualities to the defence system of India. In his speech on the indianization of the Army and on the establishment of a Military College, a counter-part of the British Sandhurst in India, the Quaid emphasized the need to accelerate the pace of indianization, to create a citizen's army or a national army along side the standing army as a second line of defence, to reinforce the political principle of defence and to make it a sufficient and self reliant force.

During his speech on March 6. 1924, the Quaid stressed the urgency to increase the rate of indianization and asked the Commander-in-Chief to come to the House with a proper Scheme to convince the members of a real beginning, not a nebulous beginning, not just an eye wash but a real thing. A member, Mr. Bell, in an attempt to be witty and vicious said that eye-wash was a very good thing for sore eyes. The Quaid, as was his wont, retorted "but what happens when you have got no eyes,? there are some who have got no eyes and will not see. Are you going to trifle with this House ?"

V. Parliamentarian with a vision,

The Quaid who brought a moral vision into politics, was again elected to the Central Assembly in 1934. The most outstanding and the most memorable feature of this period was that he had revived his old Independent Party and, by dint of his parliamentary gifts and controlling position, had managed to inflict a series of crushing defeats on the Government. To understand this, a look at the respective party position is necessary. It was as follows :—

"Congress.	44
Officials.	26
Independent.	22
Nationalist party.	11
Nominated.	13
Europeans.	11

It is clear that the Congress plus the National Party mustered the support of 55 members while the Government with their officials, Europeans and nominated members had 50 votes. In between was the group of 22 members of the independent party which was headed by the Quaid who, due to his power to tip the balance and command the decision in the Assembly, had the most decisive role to play. The Quaid as a Champion of Indian independence and unity had thrown in his weight with the Congress Party and, accordingly, during 1935—36, he controlled the House and defeated the Government plans and policies one after the other. In the very first Session he registered 7 triumphs against the Government. This created a stir in the official circles in India and England. The Government did their best to break the collaboration between the Congress and the Quaid in the House but it failed. In the second Session which lasted for 24 days, the Government was routed twice. In 1936, the Government leaders received 7 set backs. The Finance bills for 1935 and 1936 were voted down and the Viceroy had to resort to the method of certification. The Quaid's brave and brilliant Parliamentary leadership, his fine strategy and his exquisite eloquence commanded the utmost respect and admiration of India. He anticipated every move of the Government and checkmated it with perfect confidence. A

glorious chapter of Co-operation between the two great parties in the Assembly had warmed up the hearts of all those who were following the constitutional process. But the elections of 1937 turned the head of Congress as its leaders, drunk with the heady wine of power, made a bid to divide and dominate the Muslims by curious methods which aroused the ire of the Muslim leaders and it was no longer possible for them to maintain the liason, especially after the induction of the Congress Government in the six Hindu majority Provinces where they took every measure to extirpate the Muslim' cultural and economic interests, made every attempt at dis-uniting them and did everything that lay in their power to consign their party and its leaders to the limbo. This created a chasm between the Congress and the League which went on widening and widening till it became unbridgeable.

The Quaid's Parliamentary career was in perfect hormoney with his total character and conduct. He displayed the same sublime sense of honour and integrity, the same moral and intellectual honesty, the same sense of confidence and commitment which had characterised the entire gamut of his activities. There was not the sligtest departure, not the least deviation from the devoted and dedicated course that he had set for himself. His conscience was still his supreme guide which

Taking counsel of unbending Truth,
By his example hath set-forth to all,
How they with dignity may stand.

He stood like a tower, absolutely over and above the general run of Parliamentarians and politicians who had their attention constantly focussed on self-seeking and self-enriching ambitions and who, as the Quaid said, wanted to have something from every thing, who kept crossing the floor of the Assembly to join hands with any individual or group that was at the moment favoured by fortune, slave to all, faithful to none, a pack of opportunists and time-servers who disgraced themselves continuously without the least twitch of conscience and the least tremor of compunction. What Milton said about

Abdiel must be said about the Quaid who stood so gloriously above them all.

"Faithful among the faithless only he."

As Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, the Quaid was unpurchaseable at all times and in all places. This quality of his was thrown into full relief by the incident of Mr. Baisil Blackett who was the Finance Member in the Government of India. While the Finance Bill was under fire in the Central Assembly, Mr. Baisil Blackett, who was piloting it, had a very tough time. He planned to conciliate and win over some members with a view to smoothing over the rigours of their criticism and opposition by the lubrication of favour. Some of them fell victim to his tempting offers and overtures. Emboldened by his success with them, he approached the Quaid with a subtle and shrewed proposal. He said "Mr. Jinnah, I have to make some appointments to the superior posts of the Indian Audits and Accounts Service. Since the Muslims are not adequately represented in this service, I wish to give them three posts. But I am unable to find fully qualified Muslims. Would you please care to suggest some names ?" The Quaid saw that this move was designed as a political bribe, calculated to crib the scope of his free criticism in the Assembly and if he accepted the offer and put himself under his obligation he will no longer be able to raise his voice against the policies and proposals of the Government. This was too much for him. His whole soul revolted against it and he told Mr. Blackett that there was no dearth of suitable young Muslims and that it was for him to look for them. This shows how different the Quaid was from the common race of politicians who kept cringing and crouching before the British Bureaucracy to win official favour and who sold their loyalty like the easy virtue of a slut. The Quaid later said "There was no lack of members who would have jumped at the offer and nominated six of their kinsmen for the three posts".

Similarly, his reply to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the Central Assembly during the debate on the indianization of the Railways was characteristic of his moral vision. He said :"—

> "That is only when it suits Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. But I ask him ... what is the good of a party unless, when the party has come to a decision, a clear decision, that we cannot agree, we are going to enforce that decision of ours and make it a party question ?... I do maintain that it was due to the dignity, to the self-respect, to the responsibility—that this party owes to itself that if it came to a clear conclusion on a particular issue, it must have the courage of its conviction and make it a party question and not shirk it. I maintain and I repeat that that is the only honourable course for any party to take."

The Quaid was always straight-forward, upright and honest as an individual as well as in his capacity as the national leader of the Muslim India. He upheld the highest moral values which he wanted to see enshrined in the character of all the Muslims and Muslim leaguers. His own character was a living embodiment of these values and principles. They were not mere words for him, meant for talking and mouthing about. They were his life, his character and his rendezvous with the Muslim destiny in the sub continent. His entire career and conduct bore eloquent testimoney to it. He had charged these values with a new meaning and a new significance which was backed up by the whole power of his soul and personality. Generally, politicians pay only lip service to the values and do every thing to belie them in their practice. But the Quaid-e-Azam was a man of a different cast and a different quality. He never indulged in the professional jargon of the politicians and never made criticism for the sake of criticism his guiding principle. His attitude was always constructive and his thinking creative. He was led by a higher moral sensibility which had set him over and above all considerations of self-interest and self-advantage and made him a Champion of the great Muslim cause which, in other words, was also the cause of what-ever was the best and the highest in humanity. No extraneous consideration and no axpediency or necessity could influence or govern his actions. He believed in co-operation with the

Government, in supporting it on beneficent and benign measures as in the matter of restraint on child marriage unlike Congress leaders, who were bent, as the Quaid said, on wrecking and recklessness. But he fully and freely attacked the Government when it went wrong and wry, as in the matter of the Press Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. He was the acme of honour, the soul of sanity, the voice of humanity and the glory of human reason.

He came like phoebus through the gates of morn,
When dreary darkness was discomfited.

Cultural Conflict

Pakistan, in the ultimate analysis, was the result of a cultural conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims, a host of other forces and factors arising from the politicial, economic, social and historical clashes and conflicts, aiding, and accelerating the process. An analysis of the two cultures, therefore, is of the utmost importance to an understanding of the struggle and achievement of the Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. We should know something about the faith and philosophy. the content and quality of the two nations of the sub-continent. We should also assess and estimate the worth of the social systems, in terms of human values, that they evolved, developed and perfected.

I. Hindu Culture and Social order.

After the advent and establishment of British power in India, the Hindus got their chance and in a bid to dominate and dis-integrate the Mnslims, conspired with the foreign rulers who were in dire need of such allies and informers to create a split in the Muslim ranks. So the foreigner wel-comed them and used them as tools in his expansionist design. Both the British and the Hindus thus came nearer to each other and because thick and intimate. This gave the Hindus an opportunity to study their language and literature, their culture and civilization, their life and letters and their law and politics. This

knowledge stirred their imagination and they started revolving vast schemes and ideas in their mind. The English idea of democracy, especially the rule of the majority, inspired them and gave them a consciousness of their numerical strength. The study of the english history and British democracy made them politically conscious and they initiated a process of re-organization and reform of the Hindu society. They looked back into their history and with a view to rivetting the attention of their co-religionists, they started a renaissance of Hindu culture and civilization. The motivating force behind it was anti-muslim and it was fed and nourished by an extreme antipathy and antagonism towards Islam. Indeed, its very source and centre lay in a deep-seated hatred and hostility towards the Muslims. In the begining this tendency was incipient and inchoate but, with the passage of time, it developed, gathered momentum and became highly aggressive, militant and minatory. Its animating power and driving energy was absolutely destructive and it was directed at the emasculation of Muslims and the elimination of Islam as the controlling force from their life and culture. The Hindu leaders, especially the Brahmans, headed and heralded the revivalist movement among the Hindus. Here I will give a brief review of what they thought and did in this behalf.

Ram Mohan Roi was the first Hindu leader to take the initiative. He founded the Brahmo samaj whose call was exclusively meant for the Barhmins who were invited to rise and take up the high-caste duties enjoined upon them by the Shastras and lead the Hindus to re-capture the vanished glory of the Vedic period through social reform. Keshub Chander Sen, who was a high priest of this movement, joined battle through the English medium. He had the ambition to reenact the scenes of glory of the ancient India. It is ironical that this fierce and fiery reformer wno advocated abolition of child-marriage gave the hand of his own child-daughter to a Hindu Prince! He affected to found a synthesis of Hinduism, christianity and Islam and gave it the high sounding appellation of the New Dispensation which was simply a device to lure the christians and the Muslims into his net. Swami Vivekanand, who was one of the most bigotted ond benighted Brah-

mans of the Brahmo samaj, made a full frontal attack on the reformist zealots and preached the doctrine of Brahamanic supremacy and invited the Hindus to a return to the ancient caste system and idolatory, the relices of the hoary antiquity. He introduced the theory that materialistic west should supplement itself by borrowing from the precious spiritualism of the Hindus. His disciple Aurobindo Ghose inducted the extreme Hindu nationalism as a creed of the Arya samaj movement. Swami Daoanand Saraswati gave impetus and speed to this movement by his slogan "back to Vedas". He found everything in the Vedas, including the steam engine, the Railways etc., in an embroyonic form. He had the high honour of founding the Arya samaj. He was aggressive and sought to revive the Arayan religion of 1500 BC. This champion of orthodox, obscurantist and militant Hinduism was the first to raise the cry "Hindustan for the Hindus" which, subsequently, in the hands of rabid extremists like Savarkar, Moonje and Mukerji, developed into an inquisition. A cow protection society was established in 1882 which was pre-eminently an antimuslim move.' Bankam Chandera Chatterjee, who was hailed and the high priest of this religious revival, glorified the Hindu past and asked them to destroy and decimate the muslims with the help of the British. He was one of the first few graduates of the Calcutta University who came out in 1858 to join the Bengal Civil Service as Deputy Magistrate. He retired in 1891. He hailed the British as the liberators of the Hindus from the domination of the muslims and considered the former as natural allies and the latter as natural enemies. He always flattered the British and asked his co-religionists to follow suit, since, as he said, they will hand over power to the Hindus at their departure from India. In his famous anti-muslim novel Anandmath, he composed his well-known song Bande Matram which is nothing but a hymn of hate. Hailing mother India, he invoked her spirit to bless and strengthen the Hindus who were crusading against the muslims of Bengal, burning their houses, plundering their properties and putting them to the sword. The theme of his Novel is annihilation of the Mussalmans. It is reiterated and re-inforced by this poem running like a refrain throughout the book which literally means tample of bliss, but which clearly and conclusively shows that in the destruction

of the Muslims lay the bliss of the Hindus. This led to an spurt of terroristic activities in the Bengal. B. G. Tialk who was later on hailed as Lokmanya, the pride of the people, was fire-eating Hindu of Maharastra who fanned and fed the burning embers of anti-muslim feelings into a conflagration by institutionalising it through the festivals of Shiva Jee and Ganapati, held at regular intervals twice a year. Shiva Jee was celeberated for his implacable hatred for, and his interminable hostility towards, the Muslims. Tilak's treatment of Shiva Jee's treachery to Afzal Khan bears witness to the perennial perfidy of the Brahman mind who stopps at nothing, right or wrong, fair or foul, to secure his ends. Afazal Khan was at a Peace Conference with Shiva Jee as his guest. But, throwing all the traditions of humanity which has always cherished the arrival of a guest as a blessing, to the winds, Shiva Jee pulled his tigers paw at Afzal Khan secretly and killed him. Tilak hailed this inhuman act of Shiva Jee as deserving of the heighest honour and said : "it is needless to make further researches into the killing of Afzal Khan. Let us even assume that Shiva Jee deliberately planned and executed the murder. Did Shiva Jee commit a sin in murdering Afzal Khan ? The answer to this question can be found in Mahabharat itself. The divine Krishna, teaching in Gita, tells us that we may kill even our teachers and kinsmen and no blame attaches to us if we were not actuated by selfish desires." He demanded that Hindus should be allowed to play music before the mosques and campaigned for a ban on cow slaughter. Tilak also incited terroristic outbursts for his motto was "militancy, not mendicancy". He had resolved to drive out all non-Hindus from India. He regarded the Muslims as foreigners, He had drawn up a huge negative action progaamme against the Muslims and published it in his journal as follows :—

1. Do not attend Muslim functions, cultural and social.
2. Do not employ muslims at your functions.
3. Do not enter into business deal with Muslims and do not buy from and sell to them.
4. Do not have muslim tenants on Hindu lands.
5. Do not employ muslim domestics in Hindu households.

6. Do not borrow from and lend to Muslims.
7. Do not allow a Hindu lawyer to plead the case of a Muslim.
8. Do not give any financial help to Muslims in their festivals like Muharram etc.
9. Do not sell animals to Muslims.
10. Do not give anything to any muslim for the construction of a mosque.
11. Do not give any alms to Muslims faqirs as they will invest it on the preaching and propagation of Islam.
12. No Hindu doctor or Vaid should give medicine to Muslims. If only a Muslim as a professional expert is available, boycott him and train a Hindu to become an expert instead.

All this led V.D. Savarkar to found the Hindu Mahasaba in 1919 with the declared object to reconvert the muslims to Hinduism. In his speech at the Muslim Students Conference in Nov : 1940, the Quaid, referring to the statements of Dr. Moonje and Savarkar, said :

> "They had declared that the muslims in India were like, Jews in Germany and should be treated as such."

Savarkar had raised the slogan "Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan" and "Hindu Raj for Hindus in India". He openly asked the muslims either to accept Hinduism or face extinction. His slogan was "Hinduise all politics and militarise all Hindus." Lala Lajpat Raj, who was a one-time President of Hindu Mahasabha, described its aims and objectives in 1925 one of which was re-conversion of muslims into Hinduism. The Lala was affraid of the Muslim powers outside India and he deprecated muslims extra-territorial attachments and loyalties for their religion and coreligionists all over the world. Writing to C. Rajgopalacharia he said :—

> "What then is the remedy ? I am not afraid of 7 crores of Muslims in India. But I think the 7 crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible."

Madan Mohan Malvia, Swami Sankra Charia, Swami Saradhhanand (who started the Shuddhi movement and launched a drive to wean away the muslims from Islam and to reconvert them to Hinduism) and Bepin Chandra Pal were other cardinals of the Hindu conclave. In their campaign for Hindu Revival, they bore down upon the Muslims with all their fire and fury. B.B. Pal was pre-occupied with the idea of Hindu Raj, stemming directly from the dictates of the Hindu culture which was basically different from the other cultures of the sub Continent. In 1913, he said : "national differences among us have not been based upon territorial demarcation only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture". He talked of the integrity of the Hindu culture due to its special character. He stressed that this special character and culture was the very soul and essence of Hindu nationalism. He also said that the political, social and economic aspects of it were the least important and that its crowning quality was the integration of Hindu nationalism with Hindu religion and culture. He believed that the nationalist movement in India was essentially a Hindu movement, stood ideally for Hindu nationalism and fixed its attention on the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilization. He did not mince matters and clearly avowed that the nationalist movement in India was essentially a Hindu movement and was exclusively concerned with Hindu culture and Hindu civilization. Gandhi Jee, who came to be deified as the highest god of the Congress pantheon, held the same views. But he had two faces, one for the Hindus which was his right and real face and the other for the non-Hindus which was assumed and illusory. His real face was exposed by the Quaid in his speech before All India Muslim League Session at Dehli on April, 24, 1943. He said that Gandhi claimed that for him there was no politics but religion and that politics was there to sub-serve religion. He also said that Gandhi had emphasized that politics never dominated even a single decision of his and that if he took part in politics it was only because politics encircled contemporary life like the coils of a snake and further that in order to wrestle with this snake he had been experimenting with himself and his friends

in politics by introducing religion in it. He called himself a Sanatami (orthodox) Hindu because he believed in the Vadas ; the Upanishad, the Puranas and all that went by the name of Hindu scripture and, therefore, in Avtar and re-birth. He also believed in the law of the caste system in its Vedic form and in the protection of the cow as an article of faith. He further believed in idol-worship. So this was the real face of Gandhi Jee but he had also put on a deceptive face with a view to attracting and influencing the muslims according to which he said that religion was not a determinant of a nation and that religion was only a private affair. It was this double facedness of Gandhi Jee which led Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, who had worked, suffered and sacrificed for Congress, to leave it and to say in 1930 :

> "Mr. Gandhi is working under the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the sub-mersion of muslims...The Mussalman have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last 10 years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never condemned the movements of Shudhhi and Sangathan, which openly and clearly aimed at the annihilation of muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu—Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, if you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers."

In a bid to Hinduise India and to revive the ancient Hindu culture Gandhi Jee set up the following entirely Hindu institutions, as the Quaid said in his speech :—

"1. Gandhi Ashrm at Sevagram, Wardha, to serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and capital of Congress.

2. Gandhi Sewagram, a small body of nine Gandhian cardinals or high patriarchs who form the permanent inner cabinet of

Gandhi and Gandhism. It is mother superior of all associations with unlimited sphere of action.

3. Gandhi Harijan Sewasanga to consolidate the depressed classes as an integral part of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or christianity.
4. Gandhi Hindi Parchar Sangha to propogate sansikritised Hindi as the state and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity.
5. Gandhi Nagri Parchar Sabha to spread the idea that all Indian languages should be written in Hindi Devanagri script and to displace Urdu script.
6. Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha to preach and propogate Gandhian principles in villages.
7. Gandhi Khadi Prakisthan to preach the cult of the spinning wheel and Khadi (hand woven) cloth which is worshipped as a fetish.
8. Gandhi wardha Taleemi Sangha to propogate Gandhian principles of religious spiritualism, nationalism and national economy through a State controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under this scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism which was only a new form of Hinduism, to the exclusion of all other religions.
9. Gandhi cow Raksha Sabha, the association to protect and cultivate the cult of the cow.

"Gandhi Jee is a great believer in the worship of the cow as a goddess. He has, therefore, made cow raksha sabha and cow exhibition as an adjunct of the congress.

"The purpose of both, the Hindu Mahasaba and Gandhi Jee, was the same namely to seize supreme power at the Centre through force or fraud and then to extirpate the Muslims and their cultural institutions by reconversion, forcible reforms or bloody revolutions and

then to super-impose Hindu Raj or Ram Raj of the Vedic pattern through an authoritarian and despotic regime. It was not democracy which Gandhi's Congress wanted to establish but a compound of autocracy, theochracy and Hindu imperialism. As Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of All India Congress at Tiripura said. "Our Congress organizations can be compared with the Fascit party of Italy, the Nazi party of Germany & the Communist party of Russia...Mahtama Ghandi occupies the same position in Congress as is held by Mussolini among fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communist. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Although Gandhi Jee was pursuing the same ends in a different and dilatory manner with consummate tact and subtlety, yet it did not appeal to the surging and swelling ranks of the Hindus who were anxious for quick results. So Mahasabha further spawned Jan Sangh and Rashtarya Sevak Sangh whose purpose was to teach and train the Hindu youths in the use of weapon, the weapons of offence and defence, to organize them on military lines, to develop a martial spirit and outlook in them and then to let them loose on the innocent and defenceless muslims. Hardayal, who led the assault with the publition of his book My Views, said :—

> "I declare that the future of the Hindu race, Hindustan and Punjab rests on these four pillars (1) Hindu Sangathan (2) Hindu Raj (3) Shudhi of Muslims and (4) the conquest and Shuddhi of Afghanistan and Frontier. So long as the Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of the Hindu race will be impossible."

The Hindu Mahasabha published its views on the natural and the original Frontiers of the Hindu Homeland and said : "the good of the Hindu nation is our ideal and we feel that Akhand Bharat from the Indus to the seas is the natural homeland of the great Hindu nation. We feel that if all Hindus are saved and they become a strong and homogeneous nation, it is possible to restore the natural and the original Frontiers of our country."

And what are these natural and original trontiers of the Hindu nation ? The Hindu Mahasabha gave as K.L. Ganba wrote in his Passive Voices, the following boundaries. "The Hindus had their land bounded on the west by Euprats and Tigris in Iraq, and on the East by the Mekong River. According to our scriptures, Hindu China (Indo China), Hindu Asia (Indonesia) Indian ocean and Manas, Sarwas and Kailash in Tibet give us an idea of the territorial expansion of the Hindus in the past."

What a devouring ambition ! Wanting to swallow up and submerge not only the Muslims of the sub-continent but also those of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Budhists and socialists of Indo China on the plea of "our natural and original frontiers" ! Such were the imperial dreams and designs of the Hindu leaders and such were their frantic efforts in the name of the revival of the Hindu culture.

The Hindus talked of their lovely, loving culture, their sense of democracy, conveniently forgetting that the ruling spirit of their culture was extremely unlovely, unjust and undemocratic. It had given birth to a static and stagnant caste-ridden social order which prized birth and race and colour over and above every human value and nullified the basic human worth, human dignity and human excellence. That is why Dr. Ambedkar said :—

> "Take the Hindu social system and examine it from the point of view of social utility and social justice. It is a religion which was never intended to establish liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a gospel which proclaims the worship of the superman—the Brahman—by the rest of the Hindu society."

To what degree this culture and this social system had enslaved the mind of its votaries may be gathered from the remarks of a man of the stature and standing of C. Rajgopala-Chari who compared Kamraj, the Congress President to a black crow, and asserted that once this black crow was chased away, the other Congress crows elsewhere will just vanish into thin air. The Dravida Kazhagam leader

Ramsami Periywar saw in the remarks of Raja Jee his sense of superiority and interpreted it as a Brahmanic offensive. So he gave a new interpretation to the Puranas to expose the Bhramanic conspiracies and said.

> "The Brahamns altered the facts and made Rama, the hero and Ravana the villian. It is my business to re-tell the story even as it happens just now. Kam Raj is going to be our Ravana but he is going to be our hero too. He is going to win the villain, Rama, which Raja Jee is, and he would surely be trounced. It is not going to be Ramayana but only Ravanayana."

This is the outlook of the rest of India about the Hindu culture which is in perfect consonance with the results of objective study and analysis of Hindu Literature dealing with their religion and culture, which I propose to give here very briefly. It had completely subordinated the human mind and human soul to the crushing rigour & rigidity of a caste system. The Hindus never had any idea about the freedom of the human mind, the equality of the human species or the dignity of the human beings. They have evolved an authoritarian system of caste and colour which was against all the higher concepts of humanity. The Brahmans were the supreme masters of this system which they had devised with the sole idea of maintaining and prepetuating their supremacy and their hegemony. They had divided the entire Hindu society into four classes, namely, the Brahmans, the Kashtriyas, the veshyas and the shudras. The Brahmans were the Class of gods, as the laws of Manu maintained. There were two classes of gods, the God in Heaven and the Brahmans on earth. The Brahmans were born from the head of Brahama, the Jupiter of the Hindu pantheon. As Manu says, a Brahman coming into existence is born of the highest on earth and a Lord of the creation. What-ever exists in the world is the property of the Brahman on account of his excellance of birth. The Brahman is indeed entitled to it all. The Brahman eats but his own food, wears but his own apperel, bestows but his own alms while other mortals subsist through the benevolence of Brahmans. A Brahman of 10 years and a Kashtrya of 100 years

stand to each other in the relation of father and son and Brahman is the father. The Brahman, whether he is ignorant or learned, is the great divinity. The Brahman even employed in a mean accupation must be honoured in every way for he is a great deity. While prescribing the functions of various classes, Manu ordained that the duty of the king was not to turn back in a battle, but to protect the people in order to worship the Brahmans. He also ordained that the king should enrich the Brahmans. He delivered solemn and emphatic warnings to the king not to provoke them to anger under any circumstances for when once angered, the Brahmans could instantly destroy the king together with his army and vehicles. Once when the Kashtriya became presumptuous and arrogant, the god vishnu had to come down to the aid of the Brahmans. He was born in human form in a Brahman family and fought with and exterminated the warrior caste (the Kashtriya). Thrice seven times did he clear the earth of Kashtriya race and filled five lakes with their blood and thereafter gave the earth to the Brahmans. The Brahmans enjoyed all the numerous privileges and exemptions. They were the custodian of law. They gave, interpreted and applied the law. They were assigned the function of studying the Vedas, arranging the sacrificies etc. The Kasthtriya were commanded to fight the battle while the Vaishyas were to engage themselves in trade and commerce, cultivating land and breeding cattle. The last and the lowest were the shudras who were to serve the other three classes meekly and unquestioningly. The Shudras, as Manu wrote, were born from the foot of Brahma so they were the lowest, the basest and the meanest in the social system, and were treated as as slaves and out-castes. The term untouchable, wholly and solely applied to them, described their true position in this in-human system. The first three classes could read, write and acquire knowledge. As to the Brahmans, it was their first and foremost duty to study the Vedas, the laws and maintain the religious practices. The other two classes i.e. the Kashtriya and Vaishya were also allowed to study Vedas under the supervision of the Brahmans. But the fourth class, the Shudras, was altogather debarred from all access to knowledge of the Vedas, the laws and the religion. This injunction was so severe that even their presence was enough to pol-

lute the sacred ceremonies and if, by any chance, any word of the sacred Mantras happened to be sung or recited within the bearing of the Shudra, it was an offence calling down upon them the extreme penalty of the law, The word of Sacred Mantras had to be exorcised from their ear which could be done only by putting molten lead into it. This caste system was absolutely fixed and immobile. The persons belonging to the different castes were doomed to stay in it for the entire length of their life from generation to generation, unless, of course, they did good work and earned promotion from one class to the other, through transmigration of soul. The promotion of the Panchama was, however, limited to the class of the Shudra and he could not hope to soar beyond it. There was no movement from one caste to another in this life where the barrier was simply impassable. This obviously was a denial of all freedom of action to the lower classes who were left with absolutely no choice.

The Brahmans with a view to maintaining their pre-eminence and primacy had divided the entire humanity into two divisions, the Arya and the Dasyu, the ruler and the slave. They gave the name of verna, which means colour, to the caste. The Hindu Arya believed in the supremacy of his caste and colour, both being co-existent and coterminous. The Arya stood for what ever was the highest, the superior-most and the best in the Hindu concept. They, with their fair colour, were the masters, the rulers, the conquerers, the custodians of religion, the fount of knowledge and the beloved of gods. The Dasyu, with their dark skin, were the natives, the slaves, the out-caste, the untouchable, the alien, the enemy, the fiend, the demon and represented the powers of darkness and drought. When the Aryas entered this sub-continent from central Asia, they met with a firm and continous resistance from these nattves whose constant struggle extended over more than a thousand years during which the Aryas, with their characteristic in-humanity, babarity and violence, coupled with their treachery, perfidy and fraud, exterminated and enslaved the entire native race i. e. the dravidians, the gonds, the santhals and the bhilas. Most of them were killed while the others were made slavers and were driven into the Eastern forests and the southern hills to live in distant nooks and corners like rats. All their

civic and social possessions had been snatched away from them. Despoiled of all their civilization and culture, they were chased away from their cities and towns and were reduced to a state of utter slavery and abject servility. This war between the Arya and the Dasyu has been immortalised in the great national epic of tbe Hindus, the Ramayna wherein the fight between Rama and Rawana, the Arya and the Dravidian, has been portrayed in all Its vivid and inhuman details. The Rawana was depicted as a Rakashash, the Demon, the Malechh, the King of the untouchables. In a passage of the code of Manu, the law-giver forbade the twice born Brahman to associate with the Shudra, even if he was a king. Rawana anyway was a Shudra, Regardless of the fact that he was also a King because, after all, he was only a native sovereign. As Zenaide A. Ragozin wrote in his book Vedic India, it is impossible to exaggerate the loathing contempt with which Hindu Aryas regarded those whom they were robbing of their land and liberty. An Arya poet calling upon the goddess of war, Indra, prayed "destroy the Dasyu, protect the Aryan colour, subdue the law-less and the black in skin". The Hindus regard all people outside the pail of their own race and religion, caste and colour, as slaves, barbarians and enemies. It is also peculiar to Brahman sense of racial superiority, that when Rawana's 'sister Supnekha proposed to Ramas' brother Lakshman for marriage, he felt such an uncontrollable revulsion at it that he chopped of her nose and ears! How could a native black girl have the temerity to propose to the fair-coloured, high-born Brahman? She was guilty of a deep affront to the Brahmonocracy and dearly did she pay for it!

The Hindus worshiped the stones, the trees, the snakes, the cows, and so many other things. All of them had value in their eyes but not the low-born human being whom they enslaved and sacrified before their gods and goddesses. Drinking, gambling, cheating and swearing were the leading vices of the Hindu Aryas and in a hymn of the Rig Veda (X-34), these traits of their character had been portrayed. Glowing tributes had been paid to the divine, the sacred and the fiery power of the soma (wine) and to the celestial echo of the tumbling, rattling, exciting dice to which the Arya hastened as a

woman to her lover. Indra, the war god in the Hindu hagiology, held no kinship with those who pressed no soma, he was neither friend nor brother to them. He cast them into the pit. These vices had religious sanction.

Quaid-e-Azam was highly critical of this aspect of the Hindu culture which had reduced humanity and the human values to a mockery. He dwelt on it very frequently in his speeches and addresses. He was always condemning the inequality, the injustice and the inhumanity of the Hindu social order. When Gandhi Jee talked of the catholicity of the heritage of Hinduism in his address to the Benares Hindu University, one of his coreligionist published an article in the Sunday Observer of Madras dealing with the extreme narrow mindedness of the Hindu culture. Quaid-e-Azam in his statement on March 11, 1942 quoted from this article and said :

> "All are equal in the eyes of God of other religions, but under the squint—eyed Hinduism, men are born unequal and should live as unequal. The untouchable cannot aspire to heavenly bliss by himself, whatever penance he may do. If he serves the priestly class well and truly he will get promotion to the higher class in the next birth.—He will be born a Shudra !...... Mr. Gandhi refers to the catholicity of this monstrosity. Surely, the religion which treats millions of people as untouchable, which considers the shadow of the low—caste man as perdition, which discourages inter-dining and inter-marriage among the four castes comprising the Hindu Soceity, must be described by some other adjective than catholic. Even in the temple of the gods, there are places assigned in order of inferiority for the Hindu castes, and the depressed classes, on whose unfortunate head Mr. Gandhi inflicted the new name of Harijan, have to stand far beyond the outer gate-way. What a catholicism...!... We hear much talk about the glory of Hindu culture and the grandeur of Hindu civilization, but the test of greatness is not the culture

> of stone and pillar and paint and pomp but the culture of humanity, the culture of equality. Caste system and untouchability are the negation of equality. They are synonyms for intolerance and injustice and only a man who is dead to all the finer instincts of humanity and civilization can call a religion based on domination and exploitation as a heritage."

Dr. Ambedkar also said that the Congress forgot that Hinduism was a political ideology of the same character as the Fascist or Nazi ideology and was thoroughly anti democratic. He further said that this was not the point of view of the Muslims alone, it was also the point of view of the depressed classes as well as the non-Brahmans.

II. Islam and Muslim Culture.

All this shows the rigid fixity, the immobility and the in-humanity of the Brahmanic mind and culture. To them human equality, individual dignity and the unity of man-kind had no meaning at all. All ideas of human worth and excellence, individual talent and genius, were useless in their eyes. The soul determinant of human values and human quality was a man's connection with a certain race or caste or colour. This absolutely unjust and uncivilized concept of humanity was in-grained in Hindu mind and it found expression in all the forms and ceremonies of their culture and religion. Humanity was simply sobbing and languishing and dying under the Hindu domination. From time to time some great spirits rose against this in-human and authoritarian system like Mahatma Buddh who raised his voice against it, challenged it and got the better of it. An over-whelming majority of the people was so much fed up with this system that they immediately rallied to his call of humanity and most of them embraced the new faith. But the craven and crafty Hindu only retired from the contest for a short while during the life of Mahatma Buddh. After some time he surfaced again, spread out his tentacles, crushed Buddhism and drove it out of India. Hinduism made the followers of Buddha into slaves and servitors. But the human soul was groaning under the burden of the accumulated injustices and iniquities of Hinduism over the centuries

and it was crying and calling for liberation and emancibation from it. The call went out to the Arabian shores where a new religion, Islam, the religion of peace, had just been born. The muslims took cognizance of this call and came to the rescue of the dehumanised and brutalised humanity of India.

Islam stood for the establishment of universal peace, brotherhood, social and economic justice, liberty of the human soul and equality of mankind. Its source and centre was the Islamic concept of God which united all the human beings in the worship of one God and thereby liberated the human soul from the subjection to other gods, goddess, statues and idols. Islam declared that all human beings were born of Adam and adam was made of earth and that the only criterion of human worth and dignity was the practice of Gods value of righteousness. The Prophet of Islam gave a universal charter of liberty and equality to mankind in his speech at the last pilgrimage at Macca where in he declared :

> "Oh my people ! your God is one and your father too is one. All of you are the progeny of Adam and Adam was made of earth. In the eyes of God only that man is worthy who excells in righteousness. An Arab is not superior to a Persian except in so far as one surpasses the other in righteousness and fear of God."

Islam thus abolished all the brackets and barriers of caste and colour, race and region language and locus etc. and focussed human attention on the excellence of the character and conduct. It enlarged the scope of human freedom, enlightened his mind and emancipated his spirit. It abolished all the ulterior and extraneous distinctions between man and man. Islam demolished all the false and fictitious factions groupings and divisions among human beings. It declared that all men are equal, that they are free and that they have full choice of action with no limits and no stop to their aspirations and achievements. God declared that man found whatever he strove for (ليس لا انسان الا ما سعى). Islam practically changed the concept of human fate and human destiny and made it known to all that destiny was an open possibilty and that man was master of his own fate.

It gave a dynamic and optimistic view of life and completely revolutionised the hitherto static and stagnant concept of life. Islam said that life was a gift of God and it was full of possibilities and potentialities. It further said that man is the vicegerent of God on earth and God planted his own image in the breast of man, that life was an ever-renewing process which was endness and ceaseless. It is given to man to cooperate with this process or control it and transform it into fresh patterns. According to Islam there is an active principle in human nature which calls for the best of his efforts and energies and lets him to devote it to the service, the enrichment, the progress and the expansion of human horizon. God said that time among human beings was always changing and that nations change their fate by cooperating with the forces of God and further that God does not help those people who do not help themselves. As Iqbal said, "Islamic culture finds the foundation of world unity in the principle of "Tauheed". Islam, as a polity is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, and not to thrones and since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually means man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. It is not a concept of philosophy or a dream of poetry. As social movement, the aim of Islam is to make the idea of equality a living factor in the daily life of the Muslims and thus, silently and impercitibly, to carry it to fuller fruition."

Islam started a universal democratic movement because in essence it is based on a deeply democratic principle. The ideas of human unity, equality, fraternity and liberty which Islam introduced at a time when the rest of the world was enveloped in darkness arose from its democratic essence. It is altogether anti-dogmatic, anti-monarchic and anti-authoritarian. It gives full play and full development to all the creative and critical faculties of man and calls his attention to the study of nature and the study of man. In practice, the Islamic system is based on the idea of consensus. The Muslims have been enjoined to consult each other in the conduct of their social and collective affairs. But it does not allow its democratic

spirit to run riot and reduce its democracy to ochlocracy. It concentrates on both equality as well as quality and enjoins on each individual to create within himself the moral values of God. (تخلقو یا خلاق الله).

All these qualities were fully embodied in the character of the Prophet of Islam who practised every word that he preached. He did not confine himself to the rich and the ruling classes. No doubt he was born in the best family of Quresh but he had no inhibition arising from his class. He stood equal to all the Muslims whether rich or poor, high or low, weak or strong. He lived among the poor, like the poor and worked constantly and continuously for the all-round welfare of the poor, moral, material and spiritual. As Carlyle said, the Prophet of Islam lived like simple people, wore clothes of his own clouting and shoes of his own making. He took his full share in the physical labour with his people. He fully and equally participated in their fortunes and misfortunes. He had to go without food for long space of time. In such a condition he would put a stone on his stomach, presumably to give relief to the biting feeling of hunger. He was not over and above his people and did not play the king or the master to them. He remained ever and anon as a brother, a friend and a guide to them, sharing their difficulty, their distress, their want and their scarcity. He was extremely kind to every body, especially to the orphans, the widows, the prisnors, the way farers, the needy and the poor. That is why God chose to call him "a mercy for the entire universe." He created such a just and equitable social order that a time came when throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic dominion, not a single man was traceable who could need any charity or help. As it was recorded by Muhammad Qutab in his book on Islam, during the times of Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz, the collector of "Zakat" (poor tax), Saeed Yahya went to Africa, collected the "Zakat" and went about in search of the poor to disburse it to them. But not a single poor man was available anywhere as the Islamic system had rendered people happy and prosperous and made them independent of state maintenance.

The source of power in Islam is God and man holds this power

only as a trust from him. He is always under the scrutiny of the common man and he welcomes public criticism. In fact, the principle of public criticism and public accountability is an integral part of Islamic system. No one, including the Caliph, was above this criticism, this scrutiny. All the Muslims were equal and the law was applied to all of them in an even-handed manner. There was the most perfect rule of law under Islam. In all other systems, the ruling individual or clique had always been above the law. His person was considered to be sacrosanct, inviolable and he himself infallible. He was not open to say criticism. Indeed, criticism was an act of sedition and sacrilege. But in Islam every body, including the highest executive, even the chief executive of the Government *i.e.* the Caliph himself, was subject to the same law and had to appear before the Qazi (Judge) to answer the charges levelled against him. Hazrat Umer and Hazrat Ali appeared several times before the Qazi of Madina during thc period they held supreme power. Hazrat Umer once rebuked the Qazi when he stood up as he entered his court to answer a charge as a defendant in a certain action which had been brought against him. He told the Qazi that before the law he was no better than the plaintiff and that his position as a Caliph did not entitle him to any prefrential treatment in the court. As for Hazrat Ali, it is well-known that not only did he appear before the Qazi, but he also lost the case in the court of Qazi Shareeh when he appeared before him as a defendant against a jew because he had failed to produce the necessary evidence in support of his claim. This was the attitude of Islam towards the rule of law. It was a real and true rule of law and not only a concept recorded in the books.

This principle of Islam enshrined in the rule of God's law was fully and clearly exemplified in the practice and profession of Hazrat Abu Bakr. When he entered on his duties, as the First Caliph of Islam, he addressed the people and said : Oh people ! I say by God that I never sought for this office of the Caliph either by day or by night. I had no such ambition. I never prayed to God in secret or in open to confer this office on me. This is indeed a huge responsi-

bilty which, unaided by God, is beyond my power to discharge. You have chosen me your Caliph even though, as I know, I am not the best of you. Extend to me your hand of co-operation if I am in the right, but if I am in the wrong, set me right. Truth is sacred while false-hood is unholy. The weak among you shall be strong with me and I will uphold their rights while the strong shall be weak with me and I will wrest from them whatever they have wrenched from the weak and shall restore the same to them. A people who gives up fighting in the way of Allah and indulges in acts of shamelessness is disgraced and despoiled. Obey me so long as I obey God. But whenever I disobey Him and His apostle, I forfeit all claim to your obedience."

This was the cardinal principle of obedience to Government in Islam. So long as the Government is carried on according to the principles and values of God, Muslims are bound to obey it. But as soon as it deviates from the way of Allah, it loses its claim to their obedience. That is why the Prophet of Islam had said :

> If a noseless negro is appointed as a ruler over you and he conducts your affairs according to the dictates and the demands of the Book of God (Quran) you should listen to him and obey him."

This further elaborates the criterion of superiority in Islam, which is based not on the distinction of race and colour, or personal qualities of beauty and power, but on the one and the only criterion of surpassing virtue of obedience to God. This adumbrates the basic principle of equality, unity and quality in Islam. This was the profession and practice of the Prophet of Islam, his companions and his followers, The Prophet never allowed the race or colour, the status or position of a man to weigh with him either in his personal affairs or the affairs of the State. He married his beautiful cousin Zainab, to Hazrat Zaid, who originally was a negro slave. Islam emancipated him, honoured him and raised him to a high status. The Prophet of Islam, used to place his own grandsons Hazrat Hassan or Hussain on one shoulder and Hazrat Usama, the son of Hazrat Zaid, on the other, As for the equal treatment in

the affairs of State, once when Fatima bint Qais, who belonged to a high family, was brought before the Prophet charged with theft and one of his companions made a recommendation in her favour, the Prophet said :

> "By God, there can be no discrimination in the matter of justice. Even if my own daughter, Fatima bint Muhammad had committed this offence, I would have ordered her hands to be chopped off. Don't you know that earlier nations were doomed because whenever a poor man committed an offence, their judges inflicted the extreme penalty of the law on him, but if it was a rich man who was guilty of that offence, he was let off".

This was the culture of Islam which in every way was superior to that of the Hindus and which found its conceptual exponent in Iqbal in this century and its practical champion in Quaid-e-Azam, who took up the cause of Islam and the Muslim nation in India. He always referred to the basic differences and distinctions between the two cultures and their conflict and demadded a separate home-land for the Muslims so that they could lead their life according to the principles and practices of their own culture. This ultimately became the rallying cry of the Muslim India and led them to their supreme victory in the establishment of Pakistan. The cultural conflict between the two peoples of the sub-continent was fully and clearly explained by the Quaid-e-Azam in his interview to Beverley Nichols and in many of his speeches and statements which will be referred to in the chapters that follow, as and when necessary.

Saga of Seven year's Struggle

The way the Quaid re-organized and re-vitalised the Muslim League and made it the sole representative political party of the Muslims of India and developed it into a force of great power and prestige, is highly inspiring and interesting. Before the Quaid took charge of the Muslim league in the thirties, the muslims, as he said, were politically unorganized, educationally backward and financially nowhere. While addressing the Punjab Muslim Student's Federation, the Quaid recalled the early stage of his struggle and described the condition of the Muslim League in 1936 as moribund and the muslims as dead. The muslims were a poor, weak, disorganized and disunited mass, lost in confusion and chaos. The Muslim League was torn in many feuding factions. It was so far removed from the public scene that Pandit Nehru quipped that he could not see it even with a telescope! He thought that Muslim League was a negligible quantity in the Indian politics and asserted that there were only two parties in India, the British and the Congress. Gandhi Ji was equally vehement in maintaining that there was only one party in India. In his interview to an American jurnalist he said, "there is only one party which can deliver the goods and that is Congress". When he was reminded that Muslim League was also there, he said "I would not accept any other party except the Congress." At this, when it was pointed out to him

that if there was only one party, the Govt. would be fascist and undemocractic, he burst out, "dam it by what-ever name you may, there can be only one party in India and that is Congress." This contemptuous attitude of the Congress leaders towards the Muslim League was due to the fact that the muslims did not present a strong and united political front. The Muslim League could not hold even a united session. Earlier, one group led by Sir Muhammad Shafi, held its annual meeting at Lahore while the other, headed by the Quaid, met at Calcutta. As Mr. G. Allana remarked, under the impact of the Simon Commission and the Nehru Report, serious differences had appeared in the Muslim league session at Delhi in 1929. It had broken up in several groups. One led by Sir Muhammad Shafi cried for cooperation with the Simon Commission. The second group, calling itself Muslim Conference, was dominanted by Sir Fazal-e-Hussain who, in a bid to disintegrate the Muslim League, did every thing he could to create not only rifts but also to widen them into chasms. It was presided over by Sir Agha Khan. The third was against joint electorate. The fourth, which had banded itself under the banner of All India Nationalist Muslim Party, was led by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who fully supported the Nehru Report. Tasadduq Sherwani and Dr. Ansari were in this group. The main body of the Muslim league, much attenuated and emaciated remained under the Quaid.

The condition of the Provincial Muslim Leagues was even worse. In the Punjab Sir Fazal-e-Hussain, who was riding the Punjab politics like a colossus, had asked Mr. Jinnah to keep his finger out of the Punjab pie. When the Quaid requested him to preside over the Annual Session of the Muslim League, he not only flatly refused the invitation but also curtly asked him not to set upC entral Parliamentary Boards of the Muslim League which he characterised as a communal organization and from whose defiling touch he wanted to save the Punjab ! The immense loss of prestigue which the Muslim League had suffered at this period can be gathered from the fact that Sir Agha Khan, who was one of its founders, had ignored it completely and was supporting the Unionist Party ! He had sent a cheque of

Rs. 20,000/- to Sir Fazal-e-Hussain, its god-father. It is curious that Sir Falzal-e-Hussain, in order to obtain funds for his unionist Party, had written to Sir Agha Khan that Mr. Jinnah claimed that he had secured Lacs of rupees from the millionaires of Bombay and from the Raja of Mahmoodabad to meet the expenses of the coming elections (1937) although the Quaid had never said any such thing. In fact he did not even have a few thousand rupees and that is why he had asked the Muslim League candidates to bear their own election expenses. Dr. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi recorded that this lack of money had the effect of alienating the Ihrars from the Muslim league. Their leaders like Ch: Afzal Haq, Maulvi Mazhar Ali Azhar and Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianwi, who had pledged to contest the elections on the Muslim league ticket, later on, broke away from it and resigned their places on the Muslim League parliamentary Board when they found out that the Muslim League had no money ! This further shows the poor and penurious state of the Muslim League at the time. Sir Fazal Hussain was happy to report to Sir Agha Khan that the Central Perliamentary Board of Mr. Jinnah had been snuffed out and it had ceased to function in the Punjab.

Similarly, in Bengal Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq showed absolutely no regard for the Muslim League at that time. He used it as a hand maid to keep himself in power, sometime flirting with it, sometime jilting it, while all the time he kept courting the Congress and fully played into the wiles and guiles of the Hindus. In 1927, the membership of the league stood at 1330. Its annual expenditure during 1931-33 was about Rs. 3,000/-. Its annual session at Allahabad in 1930, when Allama Iqbal had expounded the Muslim right to sell-determination and demanded a Muslim State in the north west of India, was not attended even by 75 members. The next annual session at Delhi mustered only 120 members although the annual subscription fee had been reduced from Rs. 6/- to Re. 1/- and the admission fee of Rs. 5/- had been altogether abolished. The performance of the Muslim League at the general elections of 1937 fully exposed its weeknesses. It had polled only 4.6 per cent of the total Muslim Votes. It was able to win only 108 out of 484 muslim seats.

The Hindu attitude towards the Muslim league was clearly indicative of its weakness. Jawahar Lal Nehru had refused to treat the Muslim League as a representative organization of the Muslim India. He had started a Muslim Mass Contact Movement with a view to suppllanting the Muslim League and eliminating its influence from the Muslim mind. In his statement to the Associated Press, he made a scathing attack on the Quaid and claimed that the Muslim Masses were not with him, rather they were with himself (Nehru) and that he was more alive to their needs and problems than the leaders of the Muslim League! Refering to this attitude of of the Congress, the Quaid said in his speech :

> "Then there came the terrific on-slought from the Congress mass contact and challenges when the Congress Ministries were formed. The Muslim league was an anathema to them. The Muslim league was ordered to liquidate itself. The members of the Muslim League were told to abjure their allegiance to their party before the Congress could even touch them, Elections, by elections, were thrown into the disruptive coils of the Congress which created serious rifts among the Muslims. The Congress Mussalmans, the Jamate-e-Ulama, the Ihrar, the Khaksar, the Azad Conference, the Momin, the Shias, the Sunnis-they all made every effort to destroy the Muslim League."

At another place the Quaid said as follows :—

> "Since 1937 the Congress took up the attitude to dominate Mussalmans and to establish, by hook or by crook, Hindu-Raj and Hindu Govt. We are defending against that monstrosity, those machinations and those designs.. they have been contemplating the form of Government based on the ancient culture and the system which prevailed in the days of the Great Hindu historic period of Vikrama Ditya..The Congress wouldnot touch the league with a pair of tongs. To Congress the League is an anathema. They corrupt the Mussalmans by offering mini-

stries to make them give up the league. They picked up any Muslim who was willing to abuse the League and demanded that the Muslim League should be liquidated."

Recalling the weakness of the Muslim League in 1936, the Quaid during his speech made the following observation in a lighter vein :—

> "Pandit Nehru like a lion roared that there were only two Parties in India, the British and the Congress, and I, like a lamb, bleeted that there was a third party as well, the Muslim League."

Similarly he referred to the weakness of the league at the Karachi Session and compared it to a sick man in semi-unconsciousness on the death-bed who had no energy to complain and no strength to even move.

As regards the British attitude towards Muslim League, it was clearly and unmistakbly reflected in the conduct of the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgo, who had completely ignored the Muslim League, had conspired with the Congress and was going to ask them to form a Govt. at the Centre. But the outbreak of the war in september. 1939, stopped him from putting his design into operation. The Quaid, addressing the students at the Islamia College Peshawar, referred to it and said :—

> "A great danger threatened the future of the Muslims in 1939. I shudder to think of it now. There was a deal concluded between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgo to implement the Federal part of the Govt. of India Act, 1935. But providence helped and in September, the war broke out."

All this clearly and conclusively shows as to what was the condition of the Muslim League before it was taken over by the Quaid. On March, 9, 1944, speaking before the Aligarh Muslim University Union, the Quaid gave a vivid account of it and said :—

> "Since April, 1936, when the Mussalmans really started their present struggle, during the first three years, there

> were no tangible results to show. Some people treated us with indifference, some laughed at us and some actively opposed us. But we kept on struggling against all odds and handicaps. That was our condition seven years ago. A hundred million souls for all practical purposes were dead. In fact, Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgo were preparing to perform the funeral of the Muslims of India."

This certainly was a dark and dismal prospect. But the Quaid was not dismayed or daunted by it. He took up the triple challenge of the British Govt., the Hindu Congress and the muslim snakes who were charmed by the Congress and whose sutlers and satellites they had chosen to become. The Quaid in his single self, with his faith in God and his people, yet stood confident and strong, more than a match for them all. The Quaid took upon himself the re-organization and the rescucitation of the Muslim League in these circumstances. He undertook extensive tour of the sub-continent, visited the cities, the towns and the villages. He reinforced the central and the Provincial bodies by establishing thousands of its branches all over the country as District Muslim League and primary Muslim Leagues and thus made the Muslim League into a vital organ of the Muslim India. He often sang of the Saga of the Seven years struggle when, as he said, he undertook the revival, the re-organization and there-vitalization of the All India Muslim League. These were strenuous seven years in which the Muslim League made remarkable progress which, as the Quaid remarked, "was admitted not only by our friends and admirers but also by our opponents." At the outset, he told the people that the struggle was a long one and a hard one. It required of them all, especially those who became impatient and got into a frame of mind signalling desperation and despair, to realize that the struggle was a long one and a hard one and it called upon every one of them to put in his best and hardest to maintain the tempo of steady progress for building up a great nation. Slowly and step by step, the march began and the time came when the Congress, which was not prepared to touch the Muslim League

even with a pair of tongs, recognized it as the only authoratative organization of the muslims of India. On June, 29th, 1945, the Quaid triumphantly declared :—

> "Today 90% of the Muslims of India are with the Muslim League. We have not lost a single by election, except one that was in the early days of 1937-out of about 70 by elections. The total number of Muslim members in all the Central and Provincial legislatures is somewhere about 600 and out of them 550 belong to the Muslim League."

On October, 6, 1946, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote to the Quaid as follows :—

> "We are willing, as a result of the elections, to accept the Muslim League as the authoritative representative organization of an over-whelming majority of the Muslims of India, and as such, in accordance with the democractic principles, they have today the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India."

It was because of the unflagging struggle and unceasing efforts of the Quaid-e-Azam that the Muslim League won a resounding victory at the 1945-46 elections. In the central Assembly, Muslim League secured all the 30 seats. In the provinces of Bombay, Madras Orissa, Sind and C.P., the Muslim League had captured cent per cent Muslim seats. In the Punjab it had, won 79 out of 86, in U.P. 55 out of 66, in Assam 31 out of 34. In Bengal 113 out of 119 and in N.W.F.P. 17 out of 37 Muslim seats. This shows that the Muslim League had become the most popular party of the Muslims of India. The question is : how did the Quaid manage to secure this victory and what measures and methods he had adopted in making the Muslim League such a strong and united organ of the Muslim India? Having studied all the aspects of the matter and having examined all the facts of the situation, I find that the Quaid had taken the following big steps to achieve this result.

I. Muslim League as a People's Party.

The Quaid believed that in order to popularise the Muslim League, its old structure and spirit must be revolutionized and given a new orientation and a new outlook. The Muslim public hae hitherto been of the view that the Muslim League was a party of big feudal lords and that it had no care and concern for the needs and the necessities of the people. This criticism was brought to the notice of the Quaid by Allama Iqbal in his letter dated the 28th April, 1947, in which he had said :—

> "The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Muslim India or Muslim masses who have, so far with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a Political organization which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses...Our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of the Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to the Hindu money-lenders and the capitalists. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. The atheistic socialism of Jawahar Lal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question, therefore, is ; how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty ? the whole future of Muslim League depends on its capacity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promise, I am sure, the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. After a long and comprehensive study of the Islamic law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to a subsistance is secured to every body. But the enforcement and the development of the Shariat of Islam

is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my conviction for many years and I still believe this. This is the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India...the insertion of Jawahar Lal's Socialism into the body politic of Hindus is likely to cause much blood-shed among the Hindus themselves. The issue, between Social democracy and Brahanism is not dis-similar to the one between Brahmanism and Budhhism. It is clear to my mind that if the Hindusm accepts Social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of Social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam."

In another letter to the Quaid, Allama Iqbal went on to say that a constitution which does not and cannot help the Muslims in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them.

The Quaid was in almost full agreement with the views of Iqbal. In his Foreword to the letters of Iqbal, the Quaid said that his views were substatially in consonance with his." So the Quaid did his best to address himself to the Muslim's problem of poverty. He made the Mulim League a People's Party. He was clearly of the opion that Muslim League could develop into a popular party only by championing the rights of the people and by devoting itself to their problems. During his address at the Islamia College for Women, Lahore, he said that the Muslim League was no longer a body of Nawabs and landlords and declared that it was the People's Party and every Mussalman had a right to become its member. Similarly while making a statement on the position of the Muslim League vis a vis the Unionist Party. the Quaid felt proud of the fact that the Muslim League was a People's Party. He said :—

"The policy and programme of the Unionist Party are mainly in the interest of one Class, the Zamindars, whereas Muslim League is the People's Party and the

> custodian and trustee of all interests and classes that constitute the Muslim nation."

Like-wise while replying to the address presented by the Karachi Muslim League, the Quaid said that the Muslim League must now approach the masses and endeavour to raise their standard of living. Delivering his presidential address at the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League the Quaid said that the party must have a well-defined policy and programme and that the Muslims should organize themselves into one party with an advanced and progressive programme. In his address to Karachi Session of the Muslim League in 1943, the Quaid said :—

> "First you must understake, in real earnest, a constructive programme for the uplift of our people, educationally, socially, economically and politically...Why should we not establish a complete machinery to set up national industries for Muslim India, especially in the Pakistan areas ? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industires in the Pakistan region ? Why should we not undertake the planning of the national system of education ? We must consider the question of educational planning, economic planning, social planning...the real issue is : are the agricultural producers of food-grain to be bled to fatten the Industrialists ? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest and another rule of justice for another class and another interest ? If the Muslim League Ministeries properly utilize such powers as they possess, limited as they are, they can, if they are so minded, galvanise, consolidate, unify and make the Muslims a living force in their Provinces. At the same time, they can immediately undertake measures of ameliorative character and initiate a constructive programme, socially, educationally and economically."

Speaking at Bombay the Quaid established the fact that the Muslim league was a Peoples Party. He discountenanced the sugges-

tion that Muslim League was composed of only the upper strata of society and said :—

> "It is the common people who are behind the Muslim League. This wave, this avalanche of Muslim national renaissance cannot be stopped by any power on earth. We will march to our goal of Pakistan had our freedom."

At a meeting of the Bomby Muslim Students Federation the Quaid exhorted the Muslim youth to give their best in building up the pillars upon which would rest the edifice of Pakistan, the pillars being the educational, the economic, the social and the political uplift of the people. He also said that in their constructive programme the first three should have a priority before they could tackle the political problem. Explaining it he said :—

> "Educationally the condition of the Mussalaman today is hopelessly bad, economically they are worse. No nation could ever successfully struggle while they were economically dominated by another nation. Even a free nation would be handicapped if she was ecconomically weak. Social uplift is another important pillar, When the Muslims have built up these three pillars, they would be strong to raise the political pillar without difficulty."

Like-wise, replying to the address of wel-come presented by the All India Muslim Railway Employees Association, Delhi, the Quaid emphasised the importance of the basic necessitives like clothes and food and said : I want you to understand that I have no power, no authority nor any means to help you". At this the crowd said "You are the uncrowned king of the Muslim India. You can do anything." To this the Quaid gave a memorable reply in words charged with high significance, delivered in a highly serious tone, showing that it was his auto da fe, his statement of faith, his commitment to the Muslim masses. He said :

> "But I assure you, when I would possess power, it would be my duty to do everything for you and I will do it."

In the same vein while speaking in Urdu at a Public meeting at the City Muslim League, Alligarh, in 1944, the Quaid gave expression to his deep concern for the welfare of the poor Mussalmans and his boundless joy at their support for the Muslim national cause. He said :—

> "Today the League's voice is heard not only all over India but throughout the world. It has become a living force due to the over-whelming support of the Muslim masses whose welfare is nearest and dearest to my heart. It is for the amelioration of the condition of the poor muslims that I am really working. I want that they should have food, clothing and other necessaries in sufficient quantities. It is my wish to see them well-educated, socially strong and economically stable. But I have no power to do all this. I have no territory, no authority. What little influence I wield, I have been using for the ultimate welfare of the poor. I declare that the Muslim League is no longer the monopoly of the Nawabs, or the Rajas or even the Jinnah's. It is a party of the masses who work for it."

In his speech at the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, the Quaid emphasized that economic development & economic power was the most important of all the departments of life & so far as the Mussalmans were concerned, this was a dire need and they must now make every possible effort to make up the leeway.

In his great philippic against exploitation of the people, delivered on April, 24, 1943, the Quaid said :—

> Democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries have not been functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the efforts of the Muslim League. Our Government will be a People's Government...Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and the capitalists who have flourished at

our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The expolitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotton the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. I have visited the villages. I have seen millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilization ? Is this the aim of Pakistan ? Do you visualize that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day ? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise, they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they do not, God help them, we shall not help them."

In hid Eid Message to the Muslims of India in 1945, referring to the development plan, the Quaid said :—

"Since I spoke to you last on this happy occasion, the Mussalman and the Muslim League have made great progress and I find that the league is going forward from strength to strength and the Muslim mind is being rivetted more and more in the direction of devising ways and means and they have set their hands to practical nation building work, such as Social, educational and economic. No less are they searching and examining the ways and means for industrial reconstruction of our homeland comprisding Pakistan."

He took those elements in the Muslim League who were hunting for high jobs and offices to task and asked them to give up their cliquing and intriguing and devote themselves to the problems of the Muslim masses. Speaking at the meeting of the Frontier Muslim Leauge at Peshawar in 1945, he said :—

"I warn the ministrywalas in the Muslim League. For God's sake give up your intriguing and cliquish mentali-

> ty. Muslim League has passed the stage of ministry making. We have a sacred duty to perform. We have to save the muslim nation of a hundred million strong. Beware ! if you fail, you will not only betary the trust of the hundred million Muslims but you will not survive to be Prime Ministers."

The Quaid had a deep faith in the people whom he regarded as the source of all political power. He believed in the democratic spirit of his peoples and was of the view that leaders were made and unmade by the people who had the power to throw out those of them that did not honestly devote and dedicates themselves to the service of the masses. He emphatically asserted that Muslim League stood for the poor and the down-trodden, and not for the rich and strong. Talking to the Muslim League Workers at Calcutta on March, 1, 1946, he said :—

> "Who are the people present here ? They are not rich. The Legague's constitution is a democractic constitution and if there are rich and selfifh people in the League, it is because of your weakness. You do not test your man before following him. The leaders draw their strength from the masses, the poor people. Before giving them that power, you should test them and if they do not prove themselves worthy, throw them out. As for the position of the poor in the state of Pakistan, I have no sympathy with the capitalists. I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why should I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble ? Not for the capitalists, surely, but for you, the poor people. In 1936, I have seen the abject poverty of the People. Some of them did not get food even once a day. I have not seen them recently, but my heart goes out to them. I feel it and, in Pakistan, we will do all in our power to see that everybody gets a decent living."

Replying to the complaints that someleaders did not care to take

active interest in attending to the grievances of the people, the Quaid said emphatically :—

> "Throw them out. I have no police, I cannot punish them directly. My power is derived from you, the masses. If you give me enough power, I promise that I will deal with such people ruthlessly. You can do it too. Let them go. Leaders are made by you. If they do not act honestly, do not make them your leaders. You can do that to me as well."

The Quaid gave the example of Churchill and said that inspite of the fact that he was the most successful war Leader, the people threw him out into the wilderness.

The Quaid believed in the socialization of the major public utilities and industries. In the interview with the associated Press of America, he said that personally he hoped that major industrial and public utility services would be socialized in Pakistan. He said :—

> "Personally I believed that in these modern days the essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the State. That applies also to certain public utilities."

The Quaid believed in advance planning to meet the economic needs of the People. He felt disgusted with the Government's lack of will& want of action when faced with the famine in Bengal. He was critical of the Line—System in Assam which prevented men coming from other Provinces to cultivate and develop its millions of acres of land that was lying unploughed. The Congress MInistry was dislodging and ejecting the Muslim cultivators who had come from East Bengal and settled on the lands in Assam because of its fear that they might over balance the Hindu majority. If the Muslims were allowed to cultivate and develop the lands in Assam, there would have been no famine in the Eastern region of the country & the Government would not have to beg for food. Dealing with it in his speech at Gauhati, the Quaid said :—

> "Millions of acres of land are lying fallow. Had the

> Govt. of India taken our advice, I venture to say, the famine in Bengal would have been averted and millions of lives saved. Today we are called upon to face a greater tragedy due to lack of food. We are going abroad begging for food in order to prevent starvation even though rations have been cut down and various other measures have been adopted. The dog in the manger policy of the Hindu leaders who think in terms of census and the counting of heads, is indefensible and it is deeply to be regretted that Govt. of India have so far failed to tackle this problem of problems boldly and done nothing to prevent the Congress from ordering whole-sale eviction of settlers who are being driven out of Assam. The Govt. is depriving the Muslim settlers of their legitimate means of livelihood...I assure the Muslims that the All India Muslim League will do all that they can to help them."

It is thus clear that the Quaid did every thing to make the Muslim League a Peoples Party and to advance and further the peoples interests. This brought the Muslim League near the people and this led to a fusion of the party into the people.

2. Popular approach.

In his effort to come to the people, to understand their mind and their problems and to translate their dreams and desires into reality, the Quaid adopted a simple, direct and clear style and approached the people in the true Islamic spirit. Sometimes he spoke in Urdu, which, as he said, would be the national language of Pakistan. The style that he adopted at public meesings was full of popular appeal. He used words, phrases and mottos which were simple and which communicated his meanings through lively images and idioms. He was a master of sarcasm and satire, an expert at retort and riposte, and he dealt out telling, nay devastating, cuts and thrusts at his opponents if they tried to be arrogant or impetuous. I will give a few instances of his simple yet telling use of words to accomplish the desired result. Speaking on November 11, 1945, at Peshawar he said :—

"When first I came to the Frontier in 1936, I was deeply disappointed. At that time there were only two distinct camps, one the Bureaucratic camp, and the other, the Congress Camp. Opportunists went to the first came while the careerists put on the Gandhi Cap and joined the Congress Camp. The Muslims were a football to be kicked about. Today out of that crowd. I have to create a nation. Now when I have the courage to say that the Muslims are not a minority but a nation, what a howl there is because if you do not accept the Hindu Yoke you are a minority."

Similary, he said :—

"A nation cannot live in the air. It must have a territory. When we declared our goal, Pakistan, in 1940, all sorts of arguments were advanced against it. Pakistan was described as a fantastic folly. But all the arguments were exploded. We want to bring the Muslim nation under one banner, at one stage and one centre."

The last sentence was delivered with a great flourish emphasizing the unity of the Muslim nation which created a stir in the audience and a great shout of applause went up.

During the same speech the Quaid ridiculed the attempts of the Congress at crushing the Muslim League. He said :—

"Mr. Gandhi and the Congress tried their best to crush us but they succeeded only in making a nuisance of themselves !"

Like-wise once while asking the Hindus to keep their attention fixed on themselves and not to interfere with the Muslim nation he said "Take care of your Topi, wear your Langoti and eat your Dal Roti." "Similarly, he exposed the Congress stunt that whole question of India was an economic question and that they were fighting for Dal Bhat. To the Muslims youth with their pure and untutored minds the Congress propaganda had an appeal but to those who saw through the game and understood the inward meaning of the Congress, it was

plain that the basic question was not of Dal Bhat but of national freedom.

The Quaid exposed the hypocrisy and the dychotomy of the Congress and said :—

> "Now they put me in the list as enemy No. 1. I feel honoured but that cannot frighten me or deter me from doing my duty. Once they offered me the Prime Ministership of the Provisional Government of India and now they call me their enemy No. 1. The cup was near the lip and the criminal No. 1 dashed it. They are under a coma and think they will get it. It is gone for ever, it will never come to them again."

At the Peshawar Conference he said "we have got no friends, neither the British nor the Hindus are our friends. We have to fight against both of them. If both, being banias, are combined against us, we shall fight their united might and, Inshallah, win in the end." He also showed up the fraud and the chicanery of the Congress saying." the bubble of Congress fraud was finally pricked at Simla when those who swore by Indias complete and unqualified freedom fell prostrate at the feet of Lord Wavell...and those who passed the Quit India Resolution and who were talking of liquidating the British, prostrated at the feet of Lord wavell and acknowledged him as their leader and begged him, in addition to the five Hindu seats, for two Muslim seats from Muslim quota to justify their national character ! But with God's grace the Hindu Congress failed.

Referring to the Hindu charges that the Muslims made no sacrifices, the Quaid said at the Muslim League Session at Quetta, "I am afraid we cannot contribute that sort of sacrifice to which Congress seems addicted to obtain leadership, to sit like goats under police Lathi charge, then go to Jail, then to complain of loss of weight and to manage release." The Quaid who himself was free from all deception and deviousness, always criticised the perfidy and the hypocrisy of the Congress in pungent words and vivid phrases. He said :—

> "The Hindus asked what were the sacrifices of Jinnah and

Muslim League. It is true that I have not been to jail. Never mind. I am a bad man. But I ask you who made sacrifices in 1920—21 ? Mr. Gandhi ascends the Gaddi of leadership on our skulls. But what happened who Ali Brothers who were devoted servants of Islam and were kicked out after they had been used by the Congress. Mr. Gandhi used to say "I am in Ali Brother's pocket." Now I come to your Province. You sacrificed here in 1930—31 and what did you get out of it ? In 1924, when Muslim League was fighting for reforms (for making N. W. F. P. a full Province) for your province, the Congress opposed it in the Central Assembly (The Congress cried for amalgamation of N. W. F. P. with the Punjab so that the predominant Muslim majority in that Province should be attenuated by the Hindus of the Punjab)...As long as I live I shall never allow a single drop of Muslim blood to be spilt in vain. I shall never allow Muslims to become slaves of the Hindus. Do not forget that your general knows what is the right time to make secrifice. When the time comes, I shall not hesitate and shall not retrace a single step. I do not want to launch a movement for the sake of jail going. Believe me it will not be difficult for me to go to Jail for 6 months. After all, nothing happened to Mr. Gandhi. He was safely lodged in Agha Khan's palace. He had his private stay. In fact his whole family was with him. But who will face the bullets ? It will be my brethren. While in Jail it is quite polite for them to say we never preached violence. When out of Jail, they momentarily persuade themseleves to say you should not have resorted to violence. Congress did not ask you to do it. But in the next breath they can say 'bravo, you have done wonderfully'. This is fraud. This is not politics."

Tee Quaid used the every-day ideas and images to emphasize his purpose. Asking for support for the Muslim candidates, set up by

the Muslim League at the elections, he said : "discipline demands that you should vote for the League candidate. Prestige and honour of the organization to with we have the privilege to belong demaned that we should support the League candidate even though he may be a lamp-post." Addressing the Students of Islamia College. Peshawar, the Quaid described the state of the Muslim in a lively manner when he visited the Province in 1936. "The Muslim League", he said, "then did not exist in the province. The Muslims all over India were drifting in the no man's land and were used by every squatter. But now in 1945 they are a nation, throbbing and pulsating with life, from one end of India to another."

The Quaid possessed a fine taste and tact. He someitmes made a fling at his contemporaries when they showed their paranosis or poverty. The Quaid described the quality and calibre of Nehru's mind at several places in highly expressive and significant terms. Impetuosity and grandiosity were Pandit Nehru's marked attributes. The Quaid's comment on him underlined and adumbrated these qualities. Once in 1938, the Quaid said that Hindu Muslim settlement was a pre-requisite to India's freedom. Pandit Nehru who was intoxicated by the Thumping victory of the Congress at the recent elections, spoke and behaved in a manner suggesting that Muslim League was a non entity in the political field of India. Pandit Nehru took fire at the words of Quaid-e-Azam and, in an awkward attempt at pompous witticism, he said in his speech at Haripura that he had examined the so called Communal question through the telescope but failed to see it as it did not exist. At this, the Quaid called him "that busy-body President of Congress." At another place, the Quaid, in view of Nehru's sudden out-bursts and explosions, termed him as "the impetuous Pandit who never learns or unlearns anything and never grows old." Again he said "Pandit Nehru is nothing but a Peter P-an." Lord Wavell writing in his journal for November, 10, 1946, clearly indicated the impetuousity of Pandit Nehru when he wrote that in five minutes, Nehru tendered his resignation three times. He recorded as follows :—

> "When I came to the matter of coalition, Nehru suddenly blew up as he so often does. He denied the existence of a

coalition at the Centre because the Muslim League Members refused to recognise him as de-facto Premier and did not attend his tea-party cabinets. I reminded him of the constitution and he promptly offered his resignation three times in five mintues."

Nehru's grandiosity did not accept the facts as they stood. He was bent upon calling the executive Council of the Viceroy as a Cabinet and himself a Prime Minister although it was perfectly clear to every body that the institution of a Cabinet and the office of a Prime Minister pre-supposed national freedome which India had not attained at that time. So Nehru could not rightly apply these terms to the Executive Council and to himself, but he insisted on being called the Prime Minister of India in 1946. A correspondent drew the attention of the Quaid to this position at which the Quaid said "the Viceroy was pressed about it and since Pandit Nehru was very keen on this word Cabinet he saw no objection to its use if it pleased Pandit Nehru. After this the Quaid made his shattering remark "Little things please little minds and you cannot turn a donkey into an elephant by calling it an elephant." At another place the Quaid exposed the ignorance and self-complacency of Pandit Nehru. In 1938, while discussing the communal question with the Quaid through correspondence Nehru, with an air of indifference, said : "I am afraid I must confess that I do not know what fundamental points in dispute are." The Quaid retorted : "I am only amazed at your ignorance. The matter has been tackled since 1925 right up to 1939 by the most prominent leaders in the country...Study it and do not take up a self-complacent attitude." This had a chastening effect on him and in his next letter he admitted "It may be that I am dense or not sufficiently acquintted with the intricacies of the problem." The Quaid unsparingly and constantly exposed the duplicity and deceit, the inconsistencies and anomalies in the professions and the practices of Gandhi Ji. He said : "After the outbreak of the war Gandi Ji met Lord Linlithgo in Sept : 1939, He broke down and tearsr olled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction of Westminster Abbey andt he House of Parliament by German Bombing and said : "What use is the Indian freedom if England and France were defeated', and in a statement, declared his whole hearted and most enthusiastic support for the prosecution of

of the War. But hardly a week thereafter, Congress decided to non-co-operate and ordered the Congress members of the Central Assembly to withdraw."

Similarly, the Quaid pointed out that Gandhi Ji ruled the Congress as a dictator but when he was cornered and it came to a commitment, he started saying that whatever he said or did was said and done in his private capacity and it was not binding on the Congress of which he was not even a four-anna member. During the discussions on the Rajgopala Chari Formula, Gandhi Ji said that he also subscribed to it. The Quaid said "The question arises in what capacity can Mr. Gandhi's association be judged. He has got so many capacities-his personal capatity, his capacity as a dictator of the Congress and, above all, his Mahatamic Divine authority which is guided by his inner voice...and then he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress !"

The Quaid was right in his apprehension that any commitments made by Gandhi Ji could not be enforced because of his queer position. It was borne out by what happened during the Quaid—Nehru discussions of 1946 when Nehru repudiated the Formula which had been agreed upon & signed by the Quaid and Gandhi Ji.

When Gandhi Ji called the Quaid brother and asked him to cooperate with the Congress in setting up the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for the undivided India, the Quaid replied that the only difference was that while brother Gandhi had three votes, he had only one.

In his statement on September, 13, 1944, the Quaid commented on the letters sent to him by Gandhi Ji and said that it was full of contradictions and inconsistences and that it was a chinese puzzle and Gandhi Ji an enigma who, in one breath, agreed to the principle of division and, in the next, he made proposals which went to destroy the foundation on which that division claimed by the Muslim India rested. On the one hand he wanted the League to agree and on the other he denied its representative character ! Similarly, the Quaid exposed the apostle of non-violence when he threatened the Muslims with fight to the knife if they demanded independence & sovereignty. On the question of cow slaughter, too, this devotee of peace and non-violence had menaced the Muslims with massacre and blood—shed.

The Quaid also exposed the character of Maualana Abdul Kalam Azad who had sent him a Telegram. The Quaid informed him by telegram :—

> "I refuse to discuss with you by correspondence or otherwise : as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India. Cannot you realize that you are made Muslim Show Boy Congress President to give it colour that it is national and deceive foreign countries. You represent neither Muslims nor Hindus. Congress is a Hindu body. If you have any self respect, resign at once.

Similarly, the Quaid at another place referred to Maulana Azad as "a puppet President of the Congress."

These are some of the specimens of the popular style and approach, the image and the idiom, the comments and criticism through which the Quaid-e-Azam projected the Muslim point of view and communicated his ideas to the Muslim masses. It had put him in complete solidarity and integrity with his people who always enjoyed his masterly expression and style, his vivid descriptions and his sharp and mordant retorts and rejoinders.

3. Pakistan as the goal of Muslims struggle.

The greatest single factor which revolutionized the Muslim League into a great popular movement and invested its orders with the sanctity and the solemnity of a religious edict was the call for the achievement of a home-land for the Muslims of India which was given the name of Pakistan. This was not a mere idea. It was an ideal and it fired the Muslim immagination, galvanised their energies, called forth the best of their heart and mind and set them marching on the high road of the national cause. Pakistan became a universal cry, an all embracing slogan, an article of faith with the Muslims of India. It gave a body and a name to their thoughts and feelings and a form and a figure to their dreams and desires. It called up the old, far-off tales of glory and greatness of Islam, the stories of the superiority and supremacy of the Muslims. Their thoughts went back to the early period of Islam which was radiant

with the words and deeds of the prophet, his companions and Caliphs, when the great values of Islam, equality, fraternity liberty and justice reigned supreme, when the beauty, the sublimity, the chivalry and the humanity of Islam held the sway over the mind and soul of the world. Pakistan was the Muslim's dream, their hope, their faith, their mainstay, their support. As the Quaid put it, it was their destiny, their deliverance and their defence. They had invested it with all that Islam stood for, all that was the gift of Islam to humanity. It generated its own momentum and its own sustaining power. It came to symbolise to the Muslim masses everything that was bright, beneficient and beautiful, that was sacred, pure and palmy in the history of Islam. It meant not only complete freedom from the British and the Hindu domination, political, economic, social and cultural, but also the establishment of a Muslim Society in its true sense, in its pristine purity, just and equitable of which Iqbal had been singing so sweetly and in such a lofty strain. The people had been stirred to the depth of their being. The vision of Islam, the old glorious vision, came back alive with the music, the poetry, the grandeur and the greatness of it all as it obtained in the days of Hazrat Umar and Hazrat Ali. All the dreams, the yearnings, the strivings of the common Muslims for a better, a fuller, a higher and a happier life found an expression in their concept of Pakistan. They took it up in great zeal and zest and made it their own, an essential and integral part of their being. They thought of Pakistan in their own simple. sweet and sincere way and took it as their mosque, their shrine and their sanctuary. They mortised it with the first article of their faith, the first part of their Kalima. All the Muslim men, women and children went about chanting and chiming

پاکستان کا مطلب کیا   لا الہ الا اللہ

One man or group of men would sing in expostulation :

پاکستان کا مطلب کیا ؟

And the other would make the reply :

لا الہ الا اللہ

This appeal in the name of Pakistan made a tremendous impact on the mind of the Muslim masses. It went into the roots and the reces-

ses of their very being and lit up the entire gamut of their soul and wrought a revolution theirin. From an idea, Pakistan became an ideal and then it blossomed into an ideology. Thenceforward, it moved with its own momentum, developed its own dynamism, formed its own faith and led in its own light. It was not the monopoly of any particular person on parochia. It became the focus of the loyalty of the entire Muslim India. In deed, loaylty to Pakistan became a test of a Muslims loyalty to Islam. The call of the Quaid went out "come into the Muslim League. It is not the property of this man or that man. It is your organization. Come into the Muslim League". The people took up this call and simplified it and said to one another "if you are a Muslim, come into the Muslim League." The Quaid again called out "Pakistan is a goal, worth living for and worth dying for" the Muslims responded to this call of the Quaid with elemental faith and firmness and flocked round him. His appeal had touched a sympathetic chord in their heart and found an echo in every Muslim soul. The call for Pakistan made the Muslim League into what the Quaid described as "a real Peoples Party" and the voice of the Muslim League became the voice of the people and secured it the over-whelming support of the Muslim of India.

Now let us see what is there in the concept of Pakistan and how it took a concrete shape.

In 1930 at the Allahabad Session of the All India Muslim League, Allama Iqbal, who articulated the dreams and the demands of the Muslim India, declared that the Indian Muslim was entitled to a full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his home land. He demanded the creation of a Muslim India within India and his prophetic imagination bodied forth the embroyonic image of Pakistan in the following words :—

> "I would like to see the Punjab, the north west Frontier Province, the Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state".

But this and similar ideas put forth by Ch : Rehmat Ali and others were dismissed as poetical myths, a students scheme and, as Zafar Ullah Khan said, impracticable chimera and cant. Yet when

the Muslim League, under the able and inspiring leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, took up the cause of Pakistan, it became an article of faith with the Muslims of India. On March 22, 1940, at the All India Muslim League Session at Lahore, the Quaid, in a superb speech, explained the Muslim position. He said :

> "It has always been taken for granted, mistakenly, that Mussalmans are a minority, and, of course, we have got used to it for such a long time that those notions are very difficult to remove. The Muslims are not a minority, they are a nation by any definition...We occupy large parts of this country where the Mussalmans are in a majority, such as Bengal, the Punjab, NWEP, Sind, and Baluchistan. The problem in India is not of inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international character, and it must be treated as such. If the British are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate home-lands by dividing India into autonomous national states...To yoke together two such nations as the Hindus and the Muslims under a single state, one as a numerical majority and the other as a minority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the Govt. of such a state as Muslims cannot accept, any constitution which must result in a Hindu majority Govt.......Do you realize that you cannot get freedom and independence by mere arguments ? I should appeal to the intelligenstia, the intelligenstia which has been pioneers in all movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligenstia propose to do ?"

On the next day i.e. 23rd of March, 1940, the famous Lahore Resolution, which subsequently came to be identified as the Pakistan resolution, was passed in the following words :—

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session

of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that the geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North West and the North Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safe guards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units as regards the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and, in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate effective and mondatory safe guards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them".

"This Session of the Muslim League authorises the working committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".

The Raison D Etre, the rationale of Pakistan, was derived from the philosophy of Islam which had formed and fashioned the unique image and identity of the Muslims as a nation. It was completely separate and distinct from the Hindu philosophy and religion. This aspect was given a fuller expression in the resolution passed by the subjects Committee of the Muslim League on April 4, 1946, I will

quote some of its relevant portions to spot-light the significance of the Pakistan ideology. It said :

"In this vast sub-continent of India, a 100 million Muslims are adherents of a faith which regulates every detail of their life, educational, social, economic and political, whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of the Hindu Dharma and philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradition of Sixty million human beings to the position of untouchables and created unnatural barriers between man and man and superim position of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country and which threatens to reduce Muslims, christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically. Hindu Caste system is a direct contradiction of nationalism, equality and democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for. The differences in historical back ground, traditions, cultures and social and economic orders of the Hindus and the Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and after centuries they still remain two major nations.

"Soon after the introduction by the british of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of western democracies, based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the minority of the other nation or society inspite of their opposition as was amply demonstrated during the two and half year's regime of congress government in the Hindu majority provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935,

when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppres sion as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so called safeguards provided in the constitution and in the instrument of the Instructions to the Governors and driven to the irresistible conclusion that, in a United Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims even in majority provinces would meet with no better fate and their rights and interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the centre. The Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develope themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal, Assam in the north east zone and the Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan in the north west zone.

"The convention of the Muslims League Legislators of India's central land provincial assemblies after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a United India and will never participate in any single constitution making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Govt. for transferring powers from British to the peoples of India, which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem :

1. That the zone comprising Bengal and Assam in the north east and the Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sind and Baluchistan in the north west of India, namely, Pakistan Zones, where the muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign, independent state and that an unequivocal

undertaking be given to implement the estabiishment of Pakistan without delay.

2. That two separate constitution making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions.

3. That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the all India Muslim League resolutions passed on March, 23, 1940, at Lahore.

4. That the acceptance of Muslim League demand of Pakistan is the sine qua non for the Muslim League cooperation and participation in the formation of an interim government at the centre. This convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on the United India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the centre, contrary to Muslim League demand, will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such an imposition by all possible means for their survival and natural existence."

The meaning, the significance and the implications of the Pakistan Resolution and the subsequent resolutions amplifying that resolution were explained by the Quaid in the subsequent period. One thing on which he persistently dwelt was the mind and the attitude of the Muslims who had refused to submerge their individuality into Hinduism, which the Hindu so fervently wished. On March 8th, 1944, while speaking at the Muslim University Aligarh, he traced the history of Islam in India and said :—

> "Pakistan started the moment the first non muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam, he was an outcaste, not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically. As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to merge his identity and individuality in any alien society, Throughout the the ages, Hindus had remained Hindus and Muslims had remained Muslims and they had not

merged their indentities, That was the basis for Pakistan."

When the western critics and the Hindus joined hands in a bid to misrepresent Pakistan saying that it will be a theocratic state, that it will ban other religions and that religion, which was a private affair of a man, was being made the basis of this new state which will put an end to the cultural rights of other cultural groups in Pakistan, they knew only what the Roman Catho'ics had done in the name of religion—the inqisition, the burning of the heretics, the sale of pardons, the ruthless suppression of mental and spiritual development the monastic corruption and the cloistered confinement of the human soul——and their immagination conjured up lurid pictures of religious persecution and repression. The Quaid explained the difference between Islam and other faiths and said :

"Every Musalman knows that the injunctions of the Holy Quran are not confined to religious and moral duties, From the Atlantic to Ganges, says Gibbon, the Quran is acknowledged as the fundamental code not only of theology, but of civil life and criminal jurisprudence, and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of man kind are governed by the immutable sanction of the will of God. Everyone except those who are ignorant knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial military, judicial, criminal, penal code, it regulates every thing from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the solvation of the soul to the health of the body, from the rights of all to those of each individual, from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come and our Prophet has enjoined on us that every muslim should posses a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to spiritual tenets and doctrines, rituals and cermonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole muslim society, every department

> of life, collective and individually. Pakistan will not be a theocracy in the western sense and the minorities will have full social and culturals freedom and all protections and safe-guards shall be provided to them for their rights and interests.

The Quadi demanded right to self determination for the Muslims as a nation. On Septembers 21, 1944. he said :

> "Can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit and that we are entitled to the exercise of our inherent right as muslim nation which is our birth right".

Gandhi Ji said that the Lahore Resolution had mentioned nothing about Pakistan, that it made no reference to the two nation theory and that he found no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendents claiming to be a nation apart from the parental stock. He also asserted that if India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one inspite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children. He remarked that muslims did not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of a cceptance of Islam. He went on to ask, will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam ? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Gujratis etc ; cease to have their special characterstics if all of them came to be converts to Islam? He himself gave the answer saying that all these became one politically because they all were subjected to foreign control which they were trying to throw off. These arguments were typical of the Hindu mentality which was a prisoner of its ancient past according to which a man, placed in one situation of life or in one class, was eternally doomed to stay in it and according to which a man was rooted in the geographical space and nothing could transcend the limitations imposed by his caste and colour, his race and religion. He also asked the Quaid if the goat of Pakistan was Pan-Islam. The Hindu mind was afraid of the Islamic Ideology which believed in super-

geographical loyalties and in extra territorial attachments and which completely transcended the barriers erecred by the Hindu social system. The Quaid gave the following explanation about the Muslims as a unique entity and a distinct nation :

> "We maintain and hold that muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation We are a nation of hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral code, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambition—in short, we have our own distinctive out-look on life and of life. By all canons of international Law, we are a nation and a nation must have a territory. Hence the Pakistan Resolution".

It is thus perfectly clear that Pakistan was a great ideal and a glorious idealogy which comprehended all the aspects of Muslim life and living in all its totality. It was not simply a cultural theory or only an economic propositions as some people are apt to make it out. As there is no hiatus between the spiritual and the temporal in Islam, so there can be no gulf between the cultural and the economic aspects, of Pakistan which, as I said, was a total national endeavour embracing all the faces and facets of life, the religious, the cultural, the economic, the political and the social. This was the magic appeal of Pakistan which drew the entire Muslim India towards it irresistibly and in-eluctably. It was the Pakistan movement, which, as I said earlier, made the Muslim League a peoples party, as the Quaid termed it, and which led to its resounding success.

Iron Discipline,

The re-organization and revitalisation of the Muslim League demanded perfect discipline in all its ranks and caders from the highest to the lowest. The Quaid was a strict disciplinarion. He believed in individual as well as national discipline. He did not like disorder in

and-dis-organization. He had no taste for indicoipline and in-subordination. A huge mass of men has no mind and no power. It comes to acquire a mind and a will only when it becomes organized into a body and is subjected to discipline. The Quaid always put emphasis on it. His famous motto, unity, faith and discipline had become the organizing and energising principle of Muslims life. He had made the Muslim league into a great dynamic force through its strict organization and discipline. Many biographers and colleagues and cotemporaries of the Quaid have related many stories about his attitude towards discipline and his diapproval of indifcipline. When the Quaid came to Karachi, a large crowd collecled at the Airport when they saw him step out of the plane, they became uncontrollable, broke out and rushed towards him. He raised his hands and pointing out a finger at them in disapproval uttered the word "discipline" and the crowd atonce fell back as if it had touched a live wire, Similarly when some students complained that they did not get the opportunity to see him, he told them that they were always welcome. But at the same time he asked them to maintain perfect discipline, to stand in a line and to let every body see him. He also told them that a body of men in discipline was a constructive force whereas in a crowd it was a force of destruction. Indiscipline invited disunity, disruption and division while discipline denoted unity, strength and stability. The Quaid wanted Muslim India to be "well-organized, well-united and well-disciplined, electrifield by a constant consciousness of the goal of their struggle. He wanted them to have a solid support of the majority of the people on their back, in full readiness for a struggle, so that there was a reasonable chance of defeating the enemy and so that he could give them marching orders" "At that time,.' said he "those that betrayed the nation will deserve to be shot downs', And precisely this was what he did to those Muslims who were guilty of breach of discipline of the great national organ of the Muslim nation, the Muslim League. I will now give a few examples.

A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq was the Prime Minister of Bengal. He was the man who had moved the Pakistan resolution at the Lahore session

of the Muslim League, who had ultimately resigned from the National Defence Council of the Viceroy at the bidding of the Muslim League and who had remained in close cooperation with the Quaid for the long span of over a quarter of a centuary. But when he formed a progressive Coalition Party, being a Muslim Leaguer, and established a Coalition with the Congress in the name of his new party, the Quaid did not hasitate to take the necessary disciplinary action against him. He removed him from the Muslim League membership and put a ban on his re-entry. On November 13, 1942, he wrote a letter to the Quaid requesting for the removal of the ban from him and his supporters and facilitating their entry in the Muslim League fold. Maulvi A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq said:

> "I can assure you that I will abide by the discipline of the party and the instructions of the President of the Muslim League. I need hardly emphasise the fact that in the interest of Islam and Muslim League solidarity, I am prepared to make any sacrificies and to subordinate my personal interest and inclination to the supreme demand of the Muslim nation...Give me a few minutes time to talk to you personally and to explain things frankly."

> A.K.Fazal-ul-Haq again wrote to the Quaid on February 5, 1943, "I gathered from the last words you told me in course of my last interview with you that in case I liquidate the Progrersive Party and resign from any office as Premier you would lift the ban which has oeen put on me, I have thought carefully over the situation and with a view to facilitate by coming bach to the league, I am ready to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coalition Party."

The Quaid replied on February 10, 1943, as Follows :—

> "I took the decision of expelling you from the Muslim League, because your conduct and action

was a breach of discipline and the fundamental principles and policies of all India Muslim League".

Thereafter, the Quaid made the following suggestions,

"(1) You should express your regrets for what you have done. If you have now come to the conclusion that you should be re-admitted as member, it is due to the organisation from you whose membership you value so much, that you should show repentence on your part. Otherwise if members have been expelled and allowed to be re-admitted as if nothing had happened, it will not only be inconsistent with self respect of the organization, but would be destructive of the elementary principles of discipline.

(2) You should liquidate the Progressive Coalition Party or completely dissociate yourself from it and resign your office as Premier. After that......I am prepared to see that the ban should be lifted and you and other Muslims who were expelled, should be eligible for membership of the Muslim League ... I shall move in the matter as soon as the above conditions are satisfied by you."

But Maulvi Faza-ul-Haq's professions of loyalty to the Muslim cause were only skin-deep. He was anxious to keep his ministry and, in a bid to maintain it at all costs, he formed another coalition with Dr. Shyamapradas Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasaba ! What a swing of the pendulum ! Ultimately, Fazalul Haq who was a prisoner of his personal ambition, was over thrown by the Muslim League Party which installed Khawaja Nazimudin in his place.

A bit similar was the case of Punjab Prime Minister, Sir Khizer Hayat Khan, the favourite of the British and the idol of the Hindu-Sikh combine. His predecessor, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had shown a sense of solidarity with the Muslim League and had, after initial hasitation, resigned from the Viceroy's Defence Council under the directive of the Muslim League, But Khizar Hayat's conduct and attitude towards the Muslim cause was deplorable, disgusting

and disgraceful. His deviation from the path of loyalty to the Muslim Nation and his defiance of the Quaid is now, after the publication of Wavell's Journals in 1973. very easy to explain. Wavell clearly showed his mind and motive. Khizar Hayat Khan had placed himself fully and completely at the disposal of the British Bureaucracy. He was their darling and they were his master. He had promised them eternal allegiance. Wavell wrote in his journal dated November 20, 1946, as follows :

> "Khizar, the Punjab Premier, was my next visitor. If all Indian Politicians were as sensible and attractive as he is, life would be much easier. His view was that British ought not to leave. In fact he did not see how they could leave. Pakistan was nonsence......Jinnah's policy was all wrong. Punjab could go on perfectly well by itself, if only it was left alone. Jinnah's standard was about to deteriorat e....He said that Punjab would be prepared to keep all the British officials on the same terms as the present Secretary of State's Services"

On June 13, 1944, Wavell recorded." had a long talk with Khizar Hayat, the Punjab Premier and tried to hearten him up for his conflict with Jinnah".

In this entry dated July 23, 1945, Wavell said :

> Khizar demanded inclusion of a Unionist Muslim in the Executive Conncil. He spoke of the loyalty of the Punjab and said my approach to League and Congress was a slap in the facee for all cooperators. He said that I was honding over power to the enemy... I believe that Khizar, in his heart of heart, would really like the British to stay on for a long time, any how."

On July 24, Wavell wrote "I like Khizar very much, but he is not a strong character any more than his predecessor Sikandar Hayat

Khan was. Odd that these big Punjab landlords should be dominated by a down-country—lawyar like Jinnah".

In the entry datad June 10, 1945, Wavell said: "Glancy seemed a bit harassed. He had a very difficult time putting enough back-bone in Khizar and his Ministers to stand up to Jinnah." Before this, on 29-3-44, he had said that "Jinnah's pressure on the Punjab had obviously shaken Khizar." On 31-12-44 Wavell wrote: "I think I am right to backup Khizar in the Punjab against Jinnah's attempt to disrupt the Unionist Ministry".

These entries clearly show that Khizar was purely a pawn and puppet in the hands of the British who had proped him up, put marrow in him and egged him on to defy the Quaid. The Bureaucracy saw to it that their protege got all the moral and material help that he required to fight their cause against his own national cause of which the Quaid was the champion. He so eagerly and so earnestly wished for their stay so that under their protective umbrella he fleece the tenantry and exploit the peasantry. Wavell, who claimed to have a progressive streak in him explained why the feudalists were so eager and anxious to prolong the British stay. He said that they were a degenerate lot of absentee landlords asking the Government to raise their rents. and to let them exploit their peasants under the British protection. This was why the British Bureaucracy and the Punjab Unionist landlords, led by Khizar Hayat Khan and the Hindu Sikh zamindars, had made a common cause against the Independence of the subcontinent from the foreign rule. They were thriving on this rule as its tools and touts and its parasites and proteges.

The Quaid did his best to bring Sir Khizar Hayat Khan round to see reason, but he remained recusant and recalcitrant. He had long talks with him. His demand was simple and sound. He told Khizar Hayat that there could be no divided loyalty, that as member of Muslim League he should declare that he owed allegiance solely to the Muslim League Assembly Party and not to the Unionist.

Party. The coatition should be called not a Unionist Coalition but a Muslim League Coalition, as he was the head of the Muslim League Assembly Party. But Khizer Hayat Khan was impervious to all national sense and sensibility as Glancy and Wavell had taught and tutored him and directed him not to submit to the Quaid. When the Quaid sent him a letter through Mamdot and Daultana asking him to explain his position, he refused to acknowledge its receipt. The Quaid in his Sialkot speech without naming him, referred to him as a traitor, a culprit and a boy-leader and said, "when God wants to destroy a people. He makes them blind and they are led by a boy leader". He found Khizar Hayat to have violated the discipline of the party of which he was a member and said that "his was an unprecented an unheard of case in the history of any political party". He, therefore, expelled him from the Muslim League.

Similarly, the Quaid removed Begum Shah Nawaz from the membership of the League as she had refused to resign from the National Defence Council set up by the Viceroy which she had joined against the policy of the party. Sir Sultan Ahmad was also dismised from the party for the same reason. He had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council without the permission of the Muslim League. Sir Sadullah, the Prime minister of Asam, resigned from the National Defence Council under the directive of the Quaid and saved his Membership of the League.

In this way the Quaid maintained perfect discipline in the Muslim League, tightened his control over it, raised it to a position of dignity and honour and made it a true representative party of the Muslims of India. The Quaid had raised the status of the League so much in the love and affection of the people that the Defiance of the Muslim League become a challenge to the Muslim Public Opinion which carried with it public odium and obloquy to such an extent that a man could not possibly dare to incur it. It was the Muslim Public opinion which ultimately swept Khizar Hayat Khan out of office. The Quaid established the hold and the authority of the Muslim League. It had caught the imagination of the Muslim

India which respected and admired the light and the leading of the Quaid. So much so that his call became the call of the nation and his voice became the voice of the people. It was by the power of the people that the Qaid triumphed over all dangers and difficulties and ultimately established Pakistan.

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On Bureaucracy And Democracy

Before giving Quaid's views on bureaucracy and democracy, I feel that it is only fit and proper that I say some thing about the nature, the concept, the quality, the background and the working of these two institutions. Bureaucracy means the entire official establishment of the Government consisting of all the civil services—general, technical and professional—operating in the field and the secretariat at various levels. As for democracy, in the celebrated words of Lincoln, it means the Govt. of the people, by the people, for the people. It is an ideal as well as well as a practical way of life which consists in a free spirit, working to liberate the human soul from every shackle of slavery aad aspiring to achieve the vision of equality of man,—legal, political, social, economic and cultural. Democracy, in the context of a determinate part of the Government, denotes the political executive, comprising the representative institutions like the assemblies, the cabinet and the party machine. In a free democray, the composition, the jurisdiction and the scope of the political executive are spelt out in unmistakable terms in the constitution. Bureaucracy is subject to the control of the democracy. But in a colony, as we were before August 14, 1947, the bureaucracy is supreme in all respects. Before the advent of Independence, we had a predominatly bureaucratic rule. Its power was absolute and unlimited. There was no demo-

cratic control, no public accountability, no popular check on it. It has been said about the British parliament that it is a sovereign body which can do anything except that it cannot make a man into a women and vice versa. But the British bureaucracy in India had the power to perform even this miracle. It had evirated men of all their manly qualities and reduced them to the state of helplessness of a woman. Since the bureaucracy was an instrument of imperial power, it had been formed and fashioned in a way calculated to accomplish the imperial objectives and to further the colonial causes. Its mind and character were, therefore, made in the image of imperial interests and expediencies. As its power was unlimited, so was its corrupting influence. It was not confined to the subcontinent alone. It reached back to England and shook the foundations of democracy over there. As the speeches of Burke and Sheridan and the writings of Macaulay show, the British bureau crats in India, after a few year's service, returned to England vastly enriched, with millons of pounds, filched and fleeced from the natives. Their illgotten money corrupted the British society and the British politics. Rotten boroughs were bought and sold by these Indian nabobs, the new Lords, who ultimately staged a grand entry into the parliament.

No sooner did a bureaucrat set foot on the Indian soil than he forgot the lessons in democracy, rule of law, equal justice and equal treatment, which he had learnt in England, and became an unscrupulous instrument of the Empire. His avarice and rapacity was insatiable and unbounded. The bureaucracy also dominated the judiciary which was another, though higher, instrument of the empire and which gladly obliged it. The story of the collusion between the Chief Justice Impey and the Governor General Hastings, to which I referred in an earlier chapter, proved this. This complicity of the judiciary in the misdeeds of the executive was heralded by a British Chief Justice of the 18th centuary and this tradition was further carried on and developed by the succeeding bureaucrats who were impatient, intolerent, insolent, in-accessible, arrogant and indurated to all sense and sensiblity, and were highly insulting and offensive in their attitude and conduct towards the natives. When

they were selected in England for service in India, they must have been normal and reasanable men. Although some of them, as Macaulay observed, had been picked up from the flash-houses of London. But the climate of India where they had concentrated all power and privilege in their own hands—the administrative, the judicial, the revenue, the municipal, the financial etc.—through various orders and ordinances exercised unlimited authority and power and where the people had been trained to slavery and servility, turned their heads. Their brutal behaviour recoiled on them and brutalised them as well. An idea of their immense and unfettered power can be gathered from what was said about them, by various writers. Woodruff said that "they were monarch of all that they surveyed." Moon dealing with their pantopragmatic quality, called them "a general factotum" who had a hand in every pie. Braibanti referred to them as having "the powers of command and responsibilities of kingship." To use a phrase of Carlyle, they possessed "the eye of manace and the voice of command" which set them over and above the general run of mankind in India. Macaulay called them "the sole consul of a great province on whom depended the happiness and misery of every single hut in India." Even Lord Wavell, the patron—saint of the I. C. S., admitted that the I C. S. was "too highly privileged." The Lords of bureaucracy took themselves as gods of Olympus. Even the occupiers of the lower echelons of bureaucracy took up the tone, the voice and the manner of the masters and walked and talked with the gait and swagger of a petit paladine. The Imperial power had made them into a soul-less, mindless and will-less tool. They could not have any thought beyond being a perfect slave to the colonial cause. They were supposed to be completely loyal to the British throne. In fact, a thorough sense of loyalty had already been inculcated in them by the British agents in India. Macaulay was not wrong when he expressed his hope that "a time will come when the Indians will be Indians only in blood and colour. But in their taste, in their opinion, in their morals and in their intellect they will be just English."

Sir Akbar Hydari and others of his ilk were bureaucrats of this mould. As wavell recorded in his journals about him, he was more

English in his outlook than any official Indian he had met. He further said that Hydari talked about the political situation and said that no progress was possible till both Gandhi and Jinnah were under ground! Wavell kept on ruminating on this point in the pure bureaucratic manner and ultimately came to the following conclusion :—

> "I wonder if we shall ever have any chance of a solution till the three intransigent, obstinate, uncompromising principals are out of the way. Gandhi (just on 75), Jinnah (68), Winston (nearing 70)"

This was the typical bureaucratic attitude. They did not believe in solving the democratic questions in the democratic style. They rather took the shortest bureaucratic way and tried to kill the question by elinimating the people's leaders, by gagging them, jailing them and, in the last resort, by mopping them up. Gandhi Ji, Mr. Jinnah and Winston Churchill represented the democratic principles and processes while Wavell and Hydari stood for the bureaucratic tricks and tectics. They had no respect for their own national leaders. They simply were of the view that the problems with which they were faced could be solved only if, and when, these national leaders were buried under ground. They were computing their age and wishing that they were dead. The words and the manner in which Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Sirivastava, Nawab Chhattari and some other bureaucrats talked about the Quaid and other Leaders to Lord Wavell clearly indicated what a petty mind and what a slavish soul they had. This was utterly repulsive and absolutely revolting. Wavells journals have exposed many a Leader and many a bureaucrat. They used to go to him, make a gift of their mind and soul to him, express their slavish loyalty to him, abuse their national Leaders in their talk with him, deplore the departure of the British, condemn Congress as well as Pakistan and give vent to their cherished wish that the English should always stay in India.

So far as the nomenclature and designation of the various parts of the bureaucracy was concerned, they were labelled as services like the India Civil Service, the Indian Police Service etc. But these words

were used in these appellations in an euphemistic manner. The British bureaucrats in India represented the class of the masters, the rulers, and the Governor and not the public servants. Their power was absolute, indivisible and inalienable. They laboured to invest the bureaucracy with a halo of glory and strove to establish its moral and intellectual superiority and supremacy in the minds of the people by continuously harping on its greatness and glory. Lord Wellesley said that it was "a magnificent European repository of principles, of written learning and recorded visdom." Similarly, Sir Eric Franklin said that it was "the most distinguished civil service in the world." It was characterised as the steel frame of administration. The bureaucracy claimed that its role was paternal, benevolent, charismatic, humane, civilizing and beneficent while the people and their Leaders said that it was colonial, suppressive, exploitative, constrictive, authoritarian and despotic. Quaid-e-Azam in his speach in the Central Legislative Assembly on November 19, 1940 described it as "wooden and ante-diluvian." The bureaucracy was built on the pyramid partern, rising in an ascending scale, the crescendo coming in full diapason, to use a phrase from Dryden, in the crowning figure of the Governor General. The Lords of Bureacracy looked upon themselves as the high priests of the bureaucratic hagiology, the hierophant of all knowledge and the source of all power. They regarded themselves as the custodian of the myths and mysteries, the rites and rituals, the sanctums and the sanctities of their Brahmanic class. Hodson described them as the Brahmanic I. C. S. They sedulously cultivated the cult of their superiority and spread the legend of their infallibility and invincibility.

Bureaucracy is always ambitious. It wants power, more power and, sometimes, the supreme power. Whenever the democratic forces become weak, it starts conspiring with a strong man and is only too happy to put him on the pedestal of power and then rule over the people in its wonted way, in his name, or under the colour of his authority or in collobration with him. As democracy degenerates into achlocracy, so bureacuracy degenerates into despotism, civil or military. Bureaucracy, like a woman, submits to one who is master-

ful and strong. Borrowing a phrase from Chaucer, I will say that it needs a manly man to control it and to keep it on the path of virtue. As soon as the grip over it is loosened, it asserts its wilfulness and way wardness and goes awry and astray. In any case, it is an instrument. At best, it should be an honest, efficient and competent instrument of service, which it seldom is. At the worst, it is a blind instrument of oppression and exploitation. It should be allowed to acquire necessary skill and expertise, the know-how and the technology of the time. But it should not be allowed to develop into a technocracy with little mind, less soul and no vision. People perish for want of a soul and a vision. Glorying in its ivory towers, isolated from the pangs and problems of the people, its mind and soul wither away and its vision vanishes. Cut off from the source and centre of its power in the people, democracy dies. Similarly, bureaucracy, divorced from democracy, becomes dessicated and dead. By nature, bureaucracy is attuned to the worship of the status quo. Its approach is conservative and it is bogged down in the routine. Precedents stick to it, as A. G. Gardiner said, as banacles to a ships bottom. It is averse to the new, the pioneering in spirit and the enterprising in mind. It prefers smooth sailing, avoids dangers and difficulties, adds dot to a dot and moves in a circle, breakes no fresh ground and remains static and stagnant. That is way Quaid-e-Azam, as he said in his speech on March, 2, 1941, wanted to free Muslim India from the clutches of Bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy gets out of its groove and breaks out from its shell and becomes a dymanic force only when it is handled and led by an inspiring leader who gives it a vision of things higher than itself, fires its imagination and sets it marching to the accomplishment of an ideal. Quaid-e-Azam did this in the short space of a year that was vouchsafed to him after the Independence. But after his death, bureacuracy returned to its old ways and wiles, joined hands with some of the political nincompoops and the military bureaucrats of the worst type and, under the secret blessings of the judicial bureaucracy, ran amuck, messed up every thing and created a welter of chaos and confusion every where. A few sneaks and snakes of the civil

bureaucracy collaborated with a few cads and caitiffs of the military bureaucracy who destroyed the constitution which they were sworn to defend, established their personal rule and wiped out the democratic process for full 13 years which was nothing but a long night of terror, as Mr. Z. A. Bhutto termed it.

To go back to the nature and the nurture of bureaucracy, it tends to deliver the goods only, as I said, when it is commanded and controlled by a leader of high ideals and extraordinary courage and character. Like Napoleon who, for sometime, promised well to accomplish it. He had a quick eye for perceiving the merit and the excellence where-ever it lay, in the humble hut or in the rustic rank. He took it up, removed the rust, burnished it, encouraged it and used it for the achievement of his grand design. Thus he recognized the merit and the quality of men like Hoche, humbert, pichegru, Kleter, Lefevre, Suchet, Victor Lannes, Soult, Massena, St. Cyr, D' Erlon, Murat, Angereau, Bessieres and Ney, lifted them from their lowly state and put them in positions of command and power where they showed their mettle and proved their worth. But Napoleon ultimately failed, fell and licked the dust because he no longer remained true to the spirit of the age and the french ideal. From being the son of revolution, he de-generated into the son-in-law of reaction. He came to prize the showy and the sartorial part of it more than the soul and the substance. He not only re-established the monarchy in France, married a Princess, aligned himself or tried to align himself with the monarchies of Europe, made his brothers and brothers-in-law the kings of spain, Italy etc. but also tried to force the new spirit back into the old mould from which it had broken away at such a horrendous cost. A people who had had a higher vision of the rights of man, of liberty, equality, fraternity and the supermacy of the popular will and who had killed their king and cut down all of his props and pendants to realize it, could not cherish the chains of the old monarchy nor could they wel-come the bonds of the old bureaucracy in the form of the new imperial panoply of Napoleon. He had a very poor view of human nature when he thought that, after its release from the bottle, the geni of the people's spirit could be forced back into the

same old battle. The old bottle had broken down and the new had not yet been forged with all its infra-structure of institutions. So he ultimately failed to canalise the vast French energy into constructive and creative channels. He constantly kept the French on the war path, hurling them from battle to battle, without consolidating the gains and without preserving its fruits for re-inverstment in social and economic development. He fought a long, bloody and brave series of unproductive, futile and ruinous battles. But when he thought of putting it into an institution, he could not fix on anything better than the same old rusty and musty mummery of a monarchy which had proved so unfit, so unworkable and so unacceptable. He simply wanted peoples loyalty to his own personal self. This was his weakness which became a curse. This was no ideal, this was the same old worship of wood and stone. He grew impercipient and lost sight of the fact that semblance, as Carlyle said, was not reality and that a people could not be raised on a lie. He kept on issuing his false bulletins so much so that a proverb was evolved out of it, "false as a bulletin". Napoleon, therefore, came to grief too soon and left a chapter of glory in the French history gaping and gasping for fulfilment.

A long time earlier, the Romans had shown wisdom when they created their bureaucracy and made it an honest and efficient instrument of service. They introduced a principle of movement into the system by expanding the citizen ship, by creating the institution of popular tribunes, by developing the law of equity and by giving rise to the periodic bombardment of the patrician class by the plebs so much so that even the slaves rose to position of power and became generals, governors and emperors. They maintained the system through the Republic and the Empire. During the Imperial period many weak, vacillating, wayward, wilful, incompetent and inept despots came and went but Roman Law and Government survived their ruinous ravages and worked with a tolerable degree of competency only because, as Tacitus said, even a despot needed honest and efficient officers to carry on the huge work of a huge administration. It was due to the strength of the Civil and military bureaucracy of Rome that the Roman

rule jogged on for more than 500 years after the glory of the Republic and the gleam of the Empire had vanished. They had kept flushing out the bureaucratic exclusiveness and inaptitude and saved it from rotting into stagnation by bringing in talent and excellence from all quarters and by thus giving it new energy and orientation at all vital moments.

The British bureaucracy in India had no basis to stand upon, morally, socially and culturally. A contradiction and a dychotomy was inherent in its very nature. It was at odds with the people for the service of whose interest the bureaucracy is basically meant. Being an instrument of a foreign power, it was oriented to further the imperial interest which, obviously, was in conflict with the interests of the people. So the British had made the bureaucracy into a soulless class of loyalists, flunkeys and toadies who played the traitor to their own nation, preyed upon their own people, fatted on their blood, created their own group of hangers-on and, all of them, earned titles, lands, jobs and offices at the cost of the people. The bureaucracy had been soaked with and sucked in this English tradition and lost touch with the roots of power in the people. They had no independent mind and judgement. In fact, the man of independent mind and judgement, with a streak of idealism, was not wanted in the bureaucracy. He was a mis-fit and was inexorably and invariably excluded from it, as was the case of Surender Nath Bannerjy. The bureaucracy had rendered all its tools and touts into anonymous and obscure automatons in its vast machine. They were made to shed off all sense of nationalism, all attachment with their own people. They were not allowed to give any thought for their welfare except in so far as it was consistant with the Imperial policy. They were mostly there to bolster up the imperial structure, to maintain the hold of its agents and allies on the peasants and tenants from whom they kept wrenching out their toll under the safetty and security of the British bureaucratic Umbrella, as Lord Wavell, who had a bit of the progressive attitude towards land administration, observed, in different words. They were reduced to the state of hireling and mercenaries in the hands of the foreign rulers, with no sense of solidarity and integrity with the

people over whom they terrorised and tyrannised, in the name of Imperial policy.

The Quaid-e-Azam had bitter experiences of the bureaucratic misconduct and high-handedness in India. I will give a few examples and incidents from his life. In 1914, when the Quaid decided to hold the Muslim League Session at Bombay, where the Congress was also planning to hold its Session, Edwardes, the Police Commissioner under the Governor Willingdon, did not like the idea of unity between the two leading political parties. The bureaucracy believed in divide and rule. They decided to frustrate the Muslim Leaguers and the Congressmen in their attempt at holding their joint Session at Bombay. The Governor entrusted the matter to Edwardes who was at liberty to deal with them as he liked. He called the roughs and toughs of the City, hired them and charged them with the work of disrupting the meeting. When the Quaid came to know of it, he met the Governor and protested against the plans of the Police Commissioner. The Governor, in a bid to show that he was independent and that he was not involved in the matter, called a meeting of the eminent public men of the city, checked up the proposed arrangements, approved them and published them in the Govt. Gazette, assuring the participents that no disruption and disorder will be permitted. But still, on the meeting day, the hooligans and hoodlums of the city, hired by the police Commissioner played havoc with the arrangements and broke up the meeting while the police looked on in complete unconcern. The Organizers of the meeting asked them toin-tervene to maintain law and order but the police refused. The Session was, therefore, adjourned and was resumed at the Hotel Taj. This fully showed up the unholy designs of the bureaucracy. They had a double face and followed double standards and practised double dealing. Even the Chief Executive of the Province was saturated with it. In public he assured the Quaid and other leading leaders of the city that there shall be no disturbance but in private he asked the Police Commissioner to go ahead with his plan to disrupt the meeting! This was, of course, the dominant tendency of the bureaucracy. They called it by various names like tactfulness, expediency,

initiative adapatability and resourcefulness. But to a man of moral quality and calibre of the Quaid, it was, purely and simply, a fraud on the Public rights, as he said.

Earlier in 1907, an instance of bureaucratic bungling had come to the notice of the Quaid. The elections of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay were going to be held. Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, who was a dauntless critic of the Municipal mess and miss, was one of the candidates. Since he was a man of independent spirit and applied a critical mind to public affairs and had refused to follow in the footsteps of bureaucracy like a slave, he had fallen out of favour with them and the bureaucracy was determined to baulk and baffle all his attempts at securing a seat at the Corporation. The bureaucracy, which was running the affairs of the Municipal Corporation under a tetrarchy, consisting of Shepperd, the Municipal Commissioner; Harrison, the Accountant General; Gell, the Police Commissioner and Fraser, the Auditor of the Pro-Government Newspaper, the Times of India. This gang was popularly called 'the caucus'. They brought into play the entire might and machinery of the Government. When the public came to know of this impious allience in the burasucracy, they, out of sheer exasperation and disgust, showed signs of hostility and bellicosity. The feelings ran high. The atmosphere was tense and taut. Sensing the over-whelming support of the public for their hero Sir Pheroz Shah Mahte, the Municipal Commissioner, illegally changed the date of the elections from 20th to 21st. This was obviously a move calculated to mislead and misguide the voters. When the polling started on the 21st, Sir Chiman Lal Setalwad, stood up on a point of order and said that the election was illegal and void as the Municipal Commissioner had shifted the date of the pole. But Shepperd over-ruled the objection and proceeded with the polling. All the candidates set up by the caucus had had been declared successful because of the official interference. Sir Pheroz Shah was next on the list. Due to confusion in the date of the polling his supporters could not turn up in full strength. Later on, it was found that the last candidate who had been elected was a Municipal Contractor under the Corporation. An election petition was filed and the judge

disqualified the contractor and thus Sir Pheroz Shah got his seat. Bhai Shankar challenged the election of the Caucus candidates through another election petition before a Division Bench of the High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and a puisne Judge. The petitioners sought a declaration that the elections were rendered void due to the change in the date. The High Court ruled out the objection and directed that the matter should be taken to the Judge of the Small Cause Court. The petition, therefore, was instituted before him. Quaid-e-Azam appeared for the petitioner. His brilliant cross examination and cogent arguments made a deep impression on the audience but the Judge, obviously for reasons best known to him, upheld the elections. Sir Chamin Lal remarked "some scenes were witnessed, some damaging disclosures were made and some justices had to look foolish." This was the result produced by the advocacy of the Quaid. Thereafter. the leading citizens of Bombay presented an application signed, among others, by the Quaid against the official interference in the election. A public rally headed by Gopal Karishna Gokhale was also held. Quaid-e-Azam also addressed it. He condemned the bureaucratic interference in the elections as an assault on the peoples' rights. A memorandum signed by the Quaid and others was also sent to the Voiceroy but he expressed his inability to interefere with the matter as the Court had given its decision. Thus the bureaucracy went on the rampage and violated the sanctity of the basic democractic institution i e. the election, which is the source of demoractic power. Every attempt at securing a reversal of the rigged-up elections was frustrated by the united will and the wiles of the bureaucracy.

In March, 1922, the Bombay High Court Bar passed a Resolution against the excesses of the Police administration. Several speakers referred to numerous acts of tyranny and injustice committed by the Police on the people. The Quaid supported it in a mordant and magnificent speech on civil rights. He gave an instance of Police high handedness from his personal knowledge relating to the Chief of Hoti. He said that the police had involved the Chief of Hoti in an abduction case at Bombay and arrested him and sent him to Jail. He applied for bail to the Presidency Magistrate who

rejected it and committed the accused to the session. But the Advocate General found that there was absolutely no evidence to support the charge and remarked that it was a case of false implication. He accordingly withdrew from the prosecution. The trial judge also observed that such a case should not have been brought before the Court at all. The Quaid asserted that lot of mal-practices had found there way into the Police administration. He demanded that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the bureaucratic mis-deeds. The Quaid was shocked to see the bureaucracy deviate and depart from its proper course of dis-interested and impartial service, to become partisan and to lose all sense of honour and integrity. As he himself followed the highest standards of character and conduct, he was highly critical of the mad aberrations and eccentricities of the bureucracy.

The Willingdon affair was yet another instance of bureaucratic bungling and its defiance of democratic process. This incident clearly showed the tricks and tactics bureaucracy adopted in securing its ends and objects. It also showed the deep attachment which the Quaid had for the human rights and the high courage and confidence with which he stood up to challenge the tyrannies of the bureaucracy. Lord Wallingdon was Governor of Bombay. He was a typical embodiment of the qualities which go to make a bureaucrat, his hubris and hypocricy his wilful omission to perform his duties and unwarranted use of Government machinery to help the lackeys and flunkeys of the bureaucracy and to hinder the national cause. He was Chairman of the Provincial war Conference. He had insulted the members of the Home Rule League of which Quaid-e-Azam was the President. At the war Conference held on June, 10, 1918, Willingdon said that the Home Rule leaguers were not sincere in their support of the war efforts and that at every available opportunity they seemed to increase the difficulties to the embarassment of the Government. He moved a Resolution in support of the allied cause and asked for its unanimous adoption. B.G. Tilak sought to move an amendment but it was ruled out, when he tried to speak, the Chairman cut him short and tried to silence him. But like a

boldman that he was, Tilak went on to say that there could be no home defence without home rule. His view was that the Government could not ask the Indians to fight for the principles the application of which was denied to their country. A subject race could not fight for others with the heart and soul and energy with which a free people fought for their freedom. Willigdon however, stopped Tilak at which he went out. When the Quaid stood up to speak he was also stopped by a ruling from the chair. He had said that he was pained to find the Governor casting doubt on the sincerity and the loyalty of the Home Rule league and that he must enter an emphadic protest against it. While the Government was keen on recruits, the League was anxious to establish a national army, and not marely a mercenary army. He also said "you say, that we should be freed and made partners in the Empire, but when ? we do not want words, we want action and immediate deed." Lord Willingdon was impatient of delay and intolerant of interference. He stopped the Quaid and told him to go and plead his case before the Central Govt. At this the Quaid said that as a free man it was his inalienable right to participate in the meeting and to support the Resolution in toto or in part, as he thought fit. Similarly, the meeting convened by Lord willingdon on the South African question broke up in similar fiasco. The Home Rule leaguters decided not to take part in the meeting. A popular demonstration was held against the behaviour and the attitude of the Governor. The procession was taken out from Chowpati to Chawl where a big meeting was held. The Quaid led the procession all the way and moved several resolutions at the meeting. He attacked Willingdon for having messed up the question of India's support to the war efforts. He said that the Governor had insulted the League and demanded that he should withdraw his words and if he did not do that, the members will never attend any meeting over which he presided. He charged him with playing with the people and said that his methods and policies were all wrong. He said that he could not believe that even a bureaucrat was so blind as not to see it.

The main clash with Lord Willington, however, took place at

the Bombay citizen's meetings which was called by the Governor's Lackeys to give him a farewell reception on the eve of his departure "for rendering excellent services to the people of the Province". This meeting was not representative of the citizens of the City of Bombay rather it was being held at the instance of the bureaucracy by its own henchmen and hangers on. Since Willingdon had been highly insolent and insulting in his behaviour and had brought disgrace on the city, the people had decided not to honour him in any way, at any citizen's meeting. They were determined to see that no tribute was paid to him and no memorial was presented to him in the name of the Citizens of Bombay. On the other hand, the bureaucracy was resolved to give a certificate of honour to the outgoing Governor. Thus a clash was inevitable between the people and the bureaucracy. Earlier, at a public meeting, Horniman had condemned the Governor for his bureaucratic mis-deeds, for his disrupting meetings and for following a policy of repression. He congratulated Mr, Jinnah for his fight against the entire might of the bureaucracy and the unflinching courage that he displayed in the people's cause. Thus the day drew near. On December, 11, 1919, the meeting was to be held at 5.00 P.M. The public started coming in at 7.00 in the morning. Both sides displayed their full strength. When the gates of the Town Hall were thrown open at 10.00 A.M., Mr. Jinnah rode in on the head of his followers like K.M. Munshi, Pothan Joseph and others. They took their seats in the front row. But the criminal elements of the City who had been hired by the Police for the occasion tried to push them to the back seat. A scrimmage started. Mrs. Rutti Bai Jinnah stood with her husband throughout this rough and rowdy scene. At 5.00 PM the Sheriff of Bombay entered the Hall, he was cheered by the Europeans, the Anglo Indians and the official sots and sutlers. The Sheriff announced that the meeting was in order. Horniman stood up to raise an objection. In the meantime, Sir Din-Sha Wacha rose and proposed the name of Sir Jamshed Ji to preside over the meeting. And he, without waiting for somebody to second the proposal, came to the dias and took the chair. Horniman proposed the name of K.T. Telang of the Home Rule League as the Chairman. The police

fully armed was posted inside and outside the Hall. They were jingling their arms in a show of strength. In the midst of this hubbub, the President moved the resolution eulogizing the services of Lord Willingdon and the President declared the motion carried without waiting for a seconder. Lot of shouts and protests went up against this novel procedure. A number of participants started moving out, The police came in and charged at the Home Rule Leaguers with their batons. The Quaid who was in the front rank received the full brunt of the police charge. When the Quaid and his followers ultimately emerged from the Hall, the roaring and thundering masses of Bombay, who were waiting outside in their thousands, took him on their shoulders and moved into the City in triumph. The Quaid announced that a protest meeting will be held at the Shanta Ram's Chawl the same evening. At this meeting the Quaid said :—

> "Gentlemen ! you are citizens of Bombay. Today you have secured a great triumph of democracy. The powers of the Bureaucracy and autocracy have not been able to overawe you, December, 11 is an important day in the history of Bombay. Go and rejois over the day which has secured us the truimph of democracy."

At this meeting a unanimous resolution was passed protesting against the disgraceful conduct of the Sheriff of Bombay. It also condemned the administration of Lord Willingdon and protested against the proposal to raise a memorial for his services. Mr. Jinnah was singled out as the embodiment of the spirit of the citizen's of Bombay. He became the hero of the people and a large fund was raised and Jinnah People Momorial Hall was built up as a standing monument to commemorate the day and the event in which the Quaid had checkmated the chickens of bureaucracy and frustrated them in their attempt to pay public tribute to their Lord and master and fought the united might of the bureaucracy and its brokers.

The Civil bureaucracy in conjunction with the military bureaucracy had done their worst to keep the people down in all their misery, squalor, ignorance, disease, want and fear. They made a further display of their might at the Jallianwala Bagh on Sunday the

13th of April, 1919, where Dyer had fired at the crowd killing 403 and injuring 1202 persons. A yet more barbarous massacre was wrought on the Moplah Muslims of Malabar in October, 1921, when 12000 muslims had been killed by shot and shell and 30000 had been maimed and mayhemed. Their houses had been looted and burnt up. In both cases, at Jallianwala Bagh and in Malabar Martial law had been declared. Muslims were the main sufferers in these two tragedies. These barbarities of the bureaucracy, both civil and military, had left an indelible impression on the mind and soul of Quaid-e-Azam. He, therefore, demanded transfer of power from bureaucracy to democracy in a famous speech and asked the public to concentrate all their attention and energy on this question alone for the present.

The Quaid's deep love for democracy and his uncompromising opposition to all kinds of despotism, whether arising from military force or civil fraud, the Fascist fusillade or the Nazi noyade, was clear from his address to the all India Muslim League in 1916. He said :—

> "The future historians while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largly depend on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the world-shaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August, 1914. What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to man-kind. is beyond any standard of computation known to history. With the unfolding of this appaling tragedy have emerged into light stark, elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of "kultur" which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilised life and Society. The issues which are in death grips on he battle fields of three continents go to the roots of the principles of which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless generation.

Freedom, Justice, right and public law are pitted against desposition, aggression, anarchy and brute force and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind whether the end will come with a stricken and shatered world, lying bleeding and helpless under the iron-heel of the tyrant, with the whole of the humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage and hideous night-mare which will pass away and the world be redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilization and freedom, regain its heritage of peace and enter a period of vaster and more glorious synthesis and reconstuction. These are tremendous issues and the blood of every Indian with his usual gift of quick moral perception is stirred by the feeling that he is the citizens of an empire which has staked its all in a supreme endeavour to vindicate the cause of freedom and right."

He believed in the beneficent and benevolent services of bureaucracy which it was capable of performing, making its contribution to the welfare of the people but which, under the Imperial system, was turned into an efficient and malvolent instrument of oppression. In his address to the Bombay Provincial Conference he dewlt on the right and proper attitude which the bureaucracy should have towards the people. He always appreciated the good work done by good bureaucrats and the sincere and selfless work that some of them did for the people of the sub-continent. He said : "a new spirit was abroad in Young India, who leave our universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationalism and self Government and they have to be satisfied. It will be a cold confort to them to say that free institution are the special privileges of the West. In order to meet the present situation the members of the Indian Civil Service must now realize that as the Govt. of India from autocracy was transferred to bureaucracy, so the time has come when from bureaucracy it must tend toward democracy. They have wielded the sceptre of supreme power for a long time and

the time has come when, however, unwilling, they must part with their supreme control and dominion. There has been a birth of the genuine spirit of patriotism which seeks its ideals not in military glory or the a potheosis of a king, but in the advancement of the people. In formed by this spirit and strong in the material benefits...India now knocks at the portal of democracy. Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the ICS were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic Govt. must pervert their best intentions and make them foes of political progress. Bureaucracy must now stand aside in the interest of the country which it has served so long, make over the domain to other hands, not in dishonour but in honour, proudly, as the ship builders who deliver the seamen the completed ship. Will the Civil Services rise to this supreme duty that they owe to the 300 million people of this country ?" After this the Quaid quoted a paragraph from the speech of the Viceroy Lord Harding which he had made at the united Services Club as follows :—

> "England had instilled into this country the culture and civilisation of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material out-look of India. It is necessary for her to cherish aspirations of which she has herself sown the seeds. The English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them, in the present and future, to guide the uncertain, faltering steps of Indian development alongwith sure and safe paths. The new role of guides, philosophers and friends is opening before you and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the powers you have hithereto wielded."

Then the Quaid-e-Azam went on "It is Universally recognized

that if you deprive a nation of all share in its own Govt. in the forging of its destiny, you emasculate its energies, under-mine its character and sear, as if with a hot iron, its self-respect. In the sphere of intellect, such a Govt. spells not progress but decay".

Quaid-e-Azam wanted the Pakistani Bureaucrats to represent in their character and conduct the best of the English and Muslim traditions. He wanted to make them a true, efficient and competent instrument of service to the People. He desired to wean them away from the old bureaucratic pattern of thought and behaviour and to divest them of the colonial attitude under which the bureaucracy looked on the people as so much grist to their mill. He was determined to make them conscious of the changing role of the public servant and the administrators in a free and progressive society. He accentuated the basic point that they were not rulers but servants, that they were not to command the public but to confer with them, that they had to transform themselves from the tools and touts of the Imperial power to the faithful and self respecting servants of the people. A vast horizon had opened up to them in the field of economic and social development and now they had to fulfil the rising hopes and expanding expectations of the people. The old and static order had to give way to the new and dynamic system. Now they will no longer have the super-eminent position of Lords and Masters, rather they will have to live and work as friends and brothers of the people. The high and hubristic bureaucratic tone and tenor must give way to the simple words of caurtesy and kidness. The old sense of distance from, and dignity above, the people must be replaced by a feeling of integrity and soliderity with them.

In his classic address to the officers at Chitagang, the Quaid said :—

> "As to your conduct and dealings with people, wipe off that past reputation ; you are not rulers, You do not belong to the ruling class, you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, inte-

grity, justice and fair-play. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well wishers. I do not went to condemn everything of the past, there were men who did their duties according to their lights in the service in which they were placed. As administrators they did do justice in many cases but people did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth but they felt a freezing atmoshere when they had to do anything with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go, that impreession of arrogance must go, that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and try to understand the people."

The Quaid believed in the power of reason and courtesy and wanted the public servant to be patient and polite with the people, listen to them and convince them that they were doing their best in their service. So he advised them accordingly in words which show his deep love, kindness and genuine regard for the people. It is the most memorable statement of his faith. He said :—

"You will find that it is trying and provoking when a man goes on talking and repeating a thing over and over again, but have patience and show patience and make him feal that justice has been done to him. I keep on getting representations and memorials containing grievances of the people...may be there is no justification, may be there is no foundation, may be they are under a wrong impression and are mis-led. But in all such cases I have followed one practice for many years which is this : Whether I agree with anyone or not, whether I think that he has any imaginary grievances whether I think that he does not understand but I always show patience. If you will also do the same in your dealings with an individual or an association or an organization

> you will ultimately stand to gain. Let not people leave you with this bearing that youhate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted or that you are rude to them. Not one per cent who comes in contact with you should be left in that state of mind. You may not be able to agree with him but do not let him go with this feeling that you are offensive or that you are discourteous. If you will follow that rule, believe me, you will win the respect of the people."

In the sub continant, the bureaucracy had such vast powers of personal rule and for such a long time that they had become used to it and, therefore, it had gone into their blood and they held the democratic process in utter contempt. They disregarded the law and their confidence in their personal rule, as wood-ruff said, "turned into an easy defiance of authority and the choleric and eccentric district officers did not always pay attention to Govt. orders." That is how they became insensible to the dictates of law and the demands of reason. The confidence of the bureaucratic ruler, as the same writer further noted, "Degenerated into arrogara towards the ruled". Thus the bureaucracy came to cherish its powers and made its failing and foibles into its forte and faith. They were not at all prepared to abdicate their imperial authority and had no mind to come down to earth from the elysian heilghts. The bureaucracy's over-weaning pride, its insulting attitude and in-human exclusiveness, arising from the distinctions of caste and colour, the ruler's caste and the ruler's colour, sinning against the basic values of human equality and human dignity, ossified it into a Bhramanic system of the worst type. They did not like to cooperate with the democratic tendencies of the time. The Quaid, who was every inch a constitutionalist and a democrat, could not tolerate such a bureaucracy of Brahmans in Pakistan. This was but natural. The Quaid accordingly emphasized the shift of the powers from the bureaucracy to democracy and asked the bure-aucracy to learn to serve the people and to subordinate its soaring ambitions and its personal hauteur to the collective good and the national service. On October, 11, 1947, addressing the civil, Navel, Military and Air Force officers he said :—

"This is not the time to think in terms of advancement and jockeying for poistions. It is the time for constructive efforts, self-less service and steadfast devotion to duty."

Similarly, on Dec : 22, 1947, accentuating the principle of service before self, he said :—

"Self advancement, greed, lust for power, sway the conduct of individuals as that of nations. But if we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world, let us start with tne individual, catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed."

Addressing the people of Baluchistan the Quaid dealt with the character of bureaucracy as it stood in the pre-independence days and gave the new ideal to it. He said.

"The administration handed over to us was on the one hand quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress and, on the other, impatient of criticism & oblivious to the necessity of reform of any sort. Consequently, the people remained in a static position, educationally, socially, economically and politically...the new measure is intended to bring about a harmany between the Govt. and the people and to make the Govt. machinery efficient and responsive to the people. The administration will march in step with the wishes of the people and afford them opportunities for sharing henceforth with their Govt. the cares and responsibilities of the administration."

The Quaid wanted to bring home to the bureaucracy its proper role which consisted not in ruling but in serving. Addressing the Gazetted officers at Chitagang on March, 25, 1948, he said the following glorious words :

"You are the servants of Pakistan. Servants can only do their duties and discharge their responsibilities by ser-

ving. Those days are gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. Now it is People's Govt. responsible to the people,...on democratic lines."

He wanted the public servants to concentrate on service of the people and shun politics. They were to serve the people sincerely and selflessly and not to delve and dabble in politics. He, therefore, laid down the following guiding rules for regulating their conduct :—

"(*i*) You have to do your duty as servants, you are not concerned with this palitical porty or that political party ; that is not your business. It is the business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed. You, therefore, have nothing to do with this party or that party. You are civil servants. Which ever gets the majority will form the Govt. and your duty is to serve that Govt. for the time being as servants. not as politicians. How will you do that ? The Govt. in power for the time being must also realise and understand their responsibilities that you are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology and it haunts our footsteps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any Minister or Ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants. I hope it will not be so but even if some of you have to suffer as a victim—I hope it will not happen—I expect you to do so readily. We shall, of course, see that there is security for you and safeguards to you. If we find that is in anyway prejudicial to your interests we shall find ways and means of giving you that security. Of course you must be loyal to the Govt. that is in power."

The Quaid was deeply concerned with developing an attitude of devotion to duty and of faithful service in the public servants. He

wanted them to evolve an ethos of independent, impartial and impersonal service to the people, free from politics and pressure, intrigues and corruptions. This indicates his greatness, the stature of real builder of the nation and the character of a great guide. Neither did he want to use the public servants to advance his personal or political interest nor did he want to see them exploited by any individual or group because, as he thought, that will have a corrupting and corrosive effect on their mind, character and morale, sap their vitality, undermine the system and open it to the attack of every wind that blows and expose them to the temptations and seductions of outside influences which will prevent them from carryingout their duties which consisted in doing justice without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, to all manner of men. On April, 14, 1948, while talking to the Civil officers at Peshawar he gave a memorable expression to this great ideal. He said :—

> "The first thing that I want to tell you is this, that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the back bone of the State. Governments are formed, Government are defeated. Prime Ministers come and go. Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader—This is not your business. Whichever Govt. is formed according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve the Govt. loyally and faithfully, but at the same time, fearlessly, maintaining your high reputation, your prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service. If you will start

with that determination, you will make a great contributuion to the building up of the Pakistan of our conception and our dream—a glorious state and one of the greatest nation in the world.

"While impressing this upon you on your side, I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism—which is a horrible disease and from which not only your Province but others too, are suffering-if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan...If you, on your side, start with that determination and enthusiasm and I hope the other side will also realise what a terrible evil they are raising up and how it demoralises the services to try and influence this department or that department, this officer or that officer—and if you will stick to your determination you will have done a great service to your nation. Putting pressure and influence on service people, I know is a very common fault of politicians and those with influence in political parties, but I hope that you will now, from today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am giving you. May be some of you may fall victims for not satisfying the whims of Ministers. I hope it dees not happen, but you may even be put to trouble not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right. Sacrifices have to be made and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward and make the sacrifice and face the position of being put on the black—list or being otherwise worried or troubled. If you will give me the opportunity of your sacrifies, some of you at least, believe me, we will find a remedy for thatvery soon. I will see you that you will not remain on the black-list, if you discharge your

> duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State, It is you who can give us the opportunity to create a power-ful machinery which will give you a complete sense of security."

The Quaid wanted public servants to do justice to the people and and not to think of their own immediate interests and not to prostitute themselves for prospects of promotion and not to indulge in provincialism to secure their personal ends. He said :—

> "You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal, and justice is done to every body. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them. There may be some selfish people—and I know your class is no exception—who think of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and, therefore, for the time being, they create difficulties and sometitmes they describe themselves as lovers of their Province and someitmes they start slogans about outsiders such as Punjabis, Sindhis or Pathons. All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanising the people and welding them together as one great nation. It is not that we want to put any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province. No doubt, it is your province. If you have men who are fit for high hobs, I assure you, they will not escape our notice. You should draw our attention and tell us that here is a man and I will see that he should flourish, propser and progress, but we shall see to it that he is given his proper place in Pakistan."

The Quaid did his best, in the few months that he had to live after the birth of Pakistan, to effect the transfer of real power from bureaucracy to democracy, to define the job and the jurisdiction of both, to shear bureaucracy of its Barhmanic arrogance and exclusivness, its offensiveness and insulting attitude, bend it to the service of

the people and make it an efficient and honest instrument of service. His statements on the subject, like his conduct and character, are great glorious. He wanted both the bureaucracy and democracy to cooperate in the grand endeavour to make Pakistan one of the best nations of the world.

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Crucible Of Fire

As a result of the 1937 Elections, held under the Govt. of India Act, 1935, the Congress had succeeded in capturing a majority of the seats in 6 provinces, namely Bihar, Orrisa, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay. But they had refused to form their ministry in a bid to bend the British Govt. to their demand for complete transfer of political power to them to the exclusion of the Muslim League. They wanted to show that they will not cooperate with the British Govt. and that they will mete out the same treatment to the new constitution as they had done to the old. But actually they temporised only to improve their bargaining capacity as the British were scared of a political crisis, they knew that they will accept some of their demands. Ultimately, the Congress succeeded in obtaining certain commitments and concessions. One such concession was that the Governors will not invoke and use their special powers which had been given to them under the constitution to protect the rights of the minorities and the special interest groups. Of course, the Congress did not openly assert that the Governors should not use their special powers for the protection of the rights of the minorities. They put it in another way and said that they apprehended that the Governors, under the pretext of the special powers, will interfere with the day-to-day working of

the Congress Ministries. The British Govt. gave the assurance which the Congress sought and they, therefore, formed their ministeries in the Provinces in July, 1937 and resigned in Oct. 1939 after about 2½ years, on the outbreak of the second World War in Sept., 1939.

This 2½ year's period in the history of the Sub Continent was marked by a pre-eminently tyrannical rule to which the Muslims had been subjected in the Muslim Minority Provinces. The Hindu Mentality, as adumbrated in the Chapter on the Cultural Conflict, foud a full and free play in this period. The Hindu Congress went on the rampage and swooped down on the Muslims with a fell intent in the spirit of the Nehru Report. The Congress, flushed with its resounding victory, threw all sense and sensibility to the winds and took numerous measures to suppress the political, social, economic and cultural rights of the Muslims. In the political field, the Congress made a brazen bid to divide the Muslims and disrupt their unity by various tricks and tactics. They launched upon a Muslim Mass Contact Movement under the aegis of Pandat Jawahar Lal Nehru who claimed to be a better friend of the Muslims than Quaid-e-Azam. He had borrowed certain ideas from the Russian and European theory and parctice of Socialism and went about preaching them. He put great accent on the economic question and asserted that only he and his Congress was committed to the improvement of the lot of the common man. whether Hindu or Muslim, and that the Muslim League which was a party of the upper class of the Muslims, had no interest in the welfare of the Muslim Masses. He chalked out a programme and undertook extensive tour of the sub continent with a view to impressing upon the Muslim mind the fact that their poverty could be removed only by the Congress. He also initiated a Pledge Campaign with the object of disintegrating the Muslim League. The Congress Strategy was to induce the Muslim members of the Assemblies into signing the Congress Pledge by dangling before them the seductive prospects of high jobs and ministries. Nehru set up a Muslim Mass Contact Cell in the Congress, headed by Dr. Ashraf, who had resigned his job as a Professor of History at the Aligarh University and started working in the Cell at a meagre pay of Rs. 75/— per mensem

under Pandat Nehru, who had been successful in drawing out the sympathies of some of the most selfless and sincers Muslim young-men of the time, by holding up certain rosy ideals before their youthful imagination. On March, 10, 1937, Pandat Nehru called an All India National Convention in Delhi. It was attended by 800 members of the Assemblies who had been returned on the Congress ticket and addressed them giving the impression, as Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi recorded in his Book on Iqbal, that "like the Marathha Avalanche of the 18th Century, he (Nehru) had conquerred India upto Delhi and was about to reduce Bengal and Assam in the East and Punjab and Peshawar in the West." He had given out that he will make a direct approach to the Muslimpublic and hector or hustle them into the Congress Camp. He had made up his mind to by-pass and ignore the Muslim League altogether, and, as Dr. Ambedkar said, "Try to sow seeds of discord and dissension among the Muslim people."

According to the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Provincial Governors. it was their duty to see that the representatives of the minority communities commanding the respect and confidence of their political parties should also be taken into the cabinet. This was a constitutional understanding and the Muslims of the minority Provinces were entitled to some seats in the Provincial Ministries as members of the Muslim league. But the Congress adopted a highly treacherous policy in this matter. They prepared a pledge formula and declared that they will admit members of the Muslim league to the Provincial Cabinet only if they signed the Congress pledge. This pledge was formulated in a way as to annihilate the image and identity of the Muslim League entirely and completely. Its salient points were as follows :—

(i) The Muslim League Assembly Party should be disbanded.

(ii) The Members of the Muslim League should sign the Congress Pledge and become members of the Congress and bind themselves to follow the policy and programme of the Congress.

(iii) The Members of the Muslim league should adopt the Congress Action Programme.

(iv) They should liquidate the Muslim League Parliamentary Board and should not contest Elections on its ticket in future.

This was a highly disruptive Congress Campaign which, if allowed to go unchallenged, would have seriously demaged the position of the Muslim league. The Quaid rejected the Congress Pledge Formula altogether. But some newly-elected members of the Muslim League who were actuated by self-interest, fell a victim to it. Hafiz Ibrahim in UP, Seth Yaqub Hasan in Madras, Dr. Syed Mahmood in Bihar, Mr. Yasin Noori in Bombay and Yousaf Sharif in C P were caught into the Congress Net. They signed the Congress Pledge and were taken into the Provl. Cabinets. These gentlemen played a traitorous role and let themselves be led by the nose. They became unconscionabls instrumente of Congress exploitation. They simply were kept in the Congress as show-boys to serve as window-dressing and to display to the outside world that Congress was representative of all the communities of the sub-continent.

The Congress played this game in the Muslim minority provinces and refused to make coalition Govt. wlth the Muslim league. But in the Muslim majority provinces, it did the reverse and allowed its members to enter into coalition with other parties. This shows the duplicity and hypocrisy of the Congress leaders. It also shows how keen they were to go back upon their commitments. The Congress had accepted the principle of separate electorate but still it sought ways and means to nullify this acceptance in practice. This was the Brahmannic mind at work which never honours the promises made by it and always seeks to undermine it by force or fraud. The Brahman is the Jew of South Asia and he is ever insistent on his pound of flush. It is curious that the Governors took their tails between the legs and kept quiet and did nothing about it. That is why the Quaid, while addressing the All India Muslim League Session at Lucknow in Oct, 1937, said :—

> "Since the Congress have formed their Government in six provinces where they are in a majority, their leadership has by their word and deed shown more and more that the Mussalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play

at their hands. Whereever they are in a majority and whenever it suited them, they refused to cooperate with the Muslim League Party and demanded unconditional surrender by signing their pledges. The demand was insistent 'abjure your party and forswear your policy and programme and liquidate Muslim League.' But where they found that they had no majority, Like NWFP, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared and promptly the Congress party was allowed to coalesce with any other group or party. Any individual Mussalaman member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as Minister and was passed off as a Muslim Minister although he did not command the confidence and the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Muslim representatives in the Legislature. These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim Minister for the loyal service they have rendered to the Congress by surrendering and signing their pledge unconditionally and the degree of their reward was to the extent of their perfidy...It has been clearly demonstrated that the Governors and the Governor Gerenal, who had been given special powers and responsibilities to safe guard and protect the minorities under the Constitution which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secy. of State, during the controversy of assurances demanded by the Congress party, have failed to use them and have thereby been a party to the flagrant breach of the spirit of the Constitution and the instrument of the Instructions in the matter of appointment of Muslim Ministers."

In the Muslim Majority Provinces, the Congress tried the rule of divide et impera which she learned from the British Imperialism and which she used on the Muslim Ministers in a bid to divide and disintegrate them. In March, 1938, the Congress joined hands with Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh in Sind and threw Sir Ghulam Husain

Hidayatullah out of office with the help of its 8 members. Similarly, in Sept. 1938, Congress brought about the fall of Sir Sadullah's Ministery in Assam with the aid of its 33 congress members through intrigue, inducement and intimidation.

Professor Coupland in his Indian Politics and Dr. C. R. Reddy in his Book said that while in office Congress had fully and clearly exposed their strategy in disuniting and disorganizing the Muslim league in one provice after the other. Thus the Muslim Unity was sapped, the Muslim Ministeries were sacked and the Muslims were left an orphaned and amorphous crowd of waifs drifting about in the dark without any unity, centrality or certitude, swept with confused alarm of struggle and flight, clashing among themselves, locked up in fratricidal conflict, induced by the divisive and disruptive genius of the Congress High Command. The Quaid gave a Graphic picture of this condition of the Muslims and the Muslim league in his speech when he started reorganizing the League, some of which I quoted in an earlier chapter. The Congress was in power while the Muslim League was in disarray. The former, therefore, got a golden opportunity to inflict a series of cruelties and tyrannies on the Muslims which the Quaid described as the 'Crucible of Fire, through which they had passed during the 2½ years Congress' Rule. Speaking at the 5th Annual Session of the All India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur, the Quaid said :—

> "You are only four per cent in this Province and you have gone through the crucible of fire. You have suffered. You are only four per cent in this Province where an experiment is made of a new technique evolved in the special laboratory of Wardha. No Possible means were spared to terrorise you, to hurl you down. Of course, it is obvious that the policy was not only unjust and unfair, but also most cowardly—to terrorise four percent of the population ! I tell you from this platform that I never felt more proud in my life than when I saw and heard and read about the magnificent stand that the Muslims of this province took. Suffer we have to. No

nation was built, no nation ever achieved its ambition without sufferings and sacrifices."

Now let us see what were the various constituents of this reign of terror that was let loose on the Muslims. The Campaign of oppression and suppression of Muslim rights had already been going on unabated. The installation of Congress Ministry in the Muslim minority provinces lent it the coersive power of the Govt. From a stream it developed into a torrent, flooding all aspects of Muslim life and culture and swamping their individual identity in it. Congress Govt. issued orders to the Bureaucracy to work in close liaison with the District, the Tehsil and the Thana Congress Committees. The Chief Secretaries issued circulars directing the services to not only consult and cooperate with the local chairman of the Congress committee and with other office bearers of the local Congress party, but also to give effect to their policies and programmes. Thus the local Congress men became despots and dictators and their petty mind and their selfish interest became supreme. Its defiance was tantamount to the defiance of the Congress Govt. Whenever any enquiry or investigation in any case involving a Mussalaman was taken up by the local officers of the Civil, the Revenue and the Police services, the local Cangress man made it a question of his prestige and gave it a communal colour and started his own enquiry. He had devised a method of black-listing and black-mailing the officials if they happened to differ with him. They pulled the wires of the party hierarchy and succeeded in paralysing the official action on every question of this nature. It had the effect of demoralizing and disorganizing the services on the one hand and emboldening the Congresswalas to such a degree that even in non-communal matters, the influential and theresourceful party approached the local Congress Boss and managed to humble and humiliate the other party. This led to an upsurge of corruption and bribery, nepotism and jobbery. This became so rampant that the laws and the rules were disregarded by the Congressmen who looked upon themselves as the Rulers and the Masters. The Muslims were the worst sufferers from this ambient malady which had jammed the administrative machinery and perverted the administrative process. As the judges of the Chief Court of Oudh and the High Court of Allab

bad found, there was extensive interference with the judicial process and influencing and intimidating the lower judicial courts was the order of the day. In the Harsahai Case and the Dr. Vishwanath Mukerji Case, the former being the president of the Congress Committee and the latter a Congress MLA, the court found that a large number of comunications had been addressed to the lower courts in the province so it said : "It must be made clear that this court will not tolerate any attempt at bringing pressure upon a judicial officer." After making this high observation, the High Court, however, took a lenient view of the offence committeed by the accused and hoped that the leniency will not be misunderstood ! The invulnerable citadel of justice vindicated its invulnerability with such loud protestation that it brings to one's mind Pope's Line :

And saying that she will never yield She yielded.

It is absolutely clear that even the inviolability of the Courts had been violated by the Congressmen who ran a parallel Govt. of their own through their committees and their dread commissars.

As a result of this administrative laxity and the one-sided approach of the administrative ministry to the communal questions, a large number of communal riots tookplace in Tikory, Bhagalpur, Khairati, Darbhaga, Madhupur, Siswar of Bihar ; Ballia, Allahbad, Benares, Sitapur, Pilibhit, Bijnor, Cawnpore, Banda, Gorakhpur, Etah, Bulanshahar and Basi of UP and in many places of Orissa, CP, Madras and Bombay in which a large number of Muslims were killed and injured, their houses and shops were looted and burnt. In some cases, they had been driven out of their hearth and home. The Muslims of Bihar had to decide whether, as the Pirpur Report said, they should migrate from this province or face annihilation if the present state of constant conflict with a section of the Hindus and perpetual anxiety, insecurity, suffering and humiliation continued owing to the present policy of the Govt. The administration had taken up the role of spectators. No enquiry was held in these atrocities and no action was taken against the Hindu Raiders, rioters and ravishers.

An attempt at depriving the Muslims of their economic means was also made. It was synchronised with their political and admi-

nistrative oppression. There was a complete undeclared ban on Muslim's entry into services. They were ousted from the local bodies. No place was there for them on the debt boards. They were discrimated against in the matter of appointments, in the Mills and factories. The Hindu money lenders fleeced them as peasants and tenants. Once they got them in their noose, its grips went on tightening every day and ended with the liquidation of their holdings. As small tradesmen, they were dependent on Hindu whole salers who had discontinued business dealings with the Muslims, as directed by Lala Rajput Rai and Savarkar, the Chiefs of the Hindu Mahasabha, who had interdicted all commercial contacts and business ties between the two communities. Thus a fully planned and premeditated policy of Muslim Extermination was put into operation. The Congress wanted to render the question of bread so acute to the Muslims that they should surrender and fall in line with their political policies. This process of economic strangulation was carried out in all its details.

The Congress was dominated by the extremely rabid elements of the Hindu Mahasbha who gave equally ruthless treatment to all Muslims, whether in the Congress or in the Muslim League. The simple fact that a man was a Muslim was enough to cut him off from all claims to humanity and human treatment. The Ahinsa of Ghandi Ji and the socialism of Nehru Ji were only skin-deep. These cliche were only for verbal profession and not for practical application. The assimilative programme of Savarkar and the absorptive policy of Golwalkar alone held sway over the Hindu mind. The Muslims, therefore, could secure no means of livelihood unless and until they offered themselves up to be assimilated and absorbed in Hinduism. Even then they were to be bracketted with the Shudras! This was the aim and object of the Shudhhi Movement, to convert the Muslims into Hinduism and to put them in the class of the untouchables. This was the most repellent and revolting prespect. The writ of Gandhi and Nehru ran only with regard to the dealings with the British. Thus the Muslims stood eliminated from all honourable sources of living under the Congress regime. They were debarred not only from the existing jobs and opportunities but also from the future employment. The bidi manufactures of Rahli and Saugor

Districts had dismissed all their Muslim workers. Neither the labour unions that flaunted their concern for the welfare of the labourers nor the socialist organizations with their avowed and announced claims to humanism did anything for them. No voice was raised in their favour as they were mere Muslims, outside the pale of Hindu humanity and beyond the scope of social sympathy. The scholarships and grants earned and given to muslim students in the educational institutions had been stopped. Their lands connected with the mosques and mausoleums had been confiscated. Sale and purchase of cattle and its slaughter by the Muslims was discouraged by imposing prohibitive taxes on this business. This was followed by raids from Hindus on muslim butchers who were either hacked or hamstringed for killing a cow, as they did in Kali, Maujhaul, Amin, Tilkori, Khairatia etc.

The basic fact of the situation was that Hindus could not tolerate the distinctive image and identity of the Muslims. The cultural difference was the fundamental fact. Gandhi Ji and other Hindu leaders, as I pointed out in the Chapter on the cultural conflict, were revivalists. They wanted to go back to the ancient Vedic system with all its distinctions of caste and colour. Islam stood in their way. So they were bent upon destroying it and its followers. This was the cause of their mortal animus against the Muslims. In their short rule of two and half years, they atonce started making the old Vedic forms and formulas a part of daily life of all the communities of the sub-continent. The Hidu song Bande Matram, informed and enimated by an implacable hatred and hostility against the Muslims, proclaiming universal vendetta and vengeance on all aliens and outsiders like Muslims, Christians etc., breathing fire and fury in every word and promising to prostrate them before the mother Kali-this anti-Islamic song was adopted as the national anthem, was recited on all public occasions and at the start of the educational intstitutions in the morning. The school opened in the morning with prayers in course of which all the boys and girls including, the Muslims, were forced to bow before the statue of the goddess Saraswati. This idolatrous practice was not only repugnant to the Muslims but also militated against the very concept of Islam. Congress ministries further forced the Muslims to salute the Congress tricolour flag.

In the name of cow protection and cultural activities, they played music before the mosques which led to riots resulting in a terrible toll of Muslims life-and property. The Congress high command prepared the wardha vidya Mandir Scheme of education whose essential aim was to eliminate the Urdu language and literature and to suppllant it by Hindi or Hindustani. Urdu was regarded as the exclusive sign and symbol of Muslim culture. It was this bull of wardha which opened the eyes of Maulvi Abdul Haque who, for the first time, sensed the danger lurking in the Hindi and Hindustani movement. This language in its Deonagry script was drawing upon the Sanskrit for all purposes. Its literature consisted of the works Tulsi Das, Soor Das, Kabir Das. Mira Bai etc. Their poems were taught at the schools to the exclusion of the great Urdu Poets. As an exponent of this Scheme, the education Minister of Bihar said "the soul of India was crying for self expression, self realization, self fulfilment which could be achieved only by working in the tradition of Tulsi Das and Kabir Das who thought and taught, sang and prayed, in this language." It is thus perfectly clear that the Wardha Scheme was designed to push Urdu out of use and to replace it by Hindi language and literature which alone, as its authors thought, expressed the soul of India. It obviously was a sinister move to efface the Urdu language and literature which clearly expressed the soul of the Muslim culture. Under the inspiration of this scheme, out of 73 schools which were declared uneconomical and had been closed down in consequence thereof by the District Board in Malabar, 58 were Moplah Muslim schools which were running on Urdu medium. They were all abolished. Scholarships and grants being received by Urdu medium schools in the Muslim miniority provinces were suspended. The names of Muslim heroes were completely omitted from the text books prepared under the auspices of the Congress ministries. Thus an incalculable harm and irreparable damage was done to Muslim life, muslim culture, muslim moral and the muslim civilization, during this short and sharp period of Congress rule and misrule. This was truly a long night of suffering for the Muslim, as the Quaid said.

In December, 1938, delivering the Presidential address at the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League the Quaid dealt with

this situation. He said :—

"Congress is not a national body. It is a misfortune of our country, in deed it is a tragedy that the high command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures and establish a Hindu Raj. They talk of Swaraj but they mean only Hindu Raj. They talk of national Govt. but mean only Hindu Govt. But the bubble has been pricked too soon. Intoxicated with power gained under the new constitution, with majority in six or seven Provinces, the Congress game has been exposed too soon. What did Congress do when they got power ? with all its pretensions of nationalism, it started with Bande Mahtram. It is admitted that it is not a national song, yet it is sung and it is thrust upon others...Muslim children in Govt. and municipal schools are compelled to sing it...It is idolatrous and a hymn of hate against the muslims... Congress flag is not the national flag of India yet it is thrust upon the Muslims. Is there any doubt now in the mind of anyone that the whole scheme of Hindi-Hindustani is intended to stifle and suppress Urdu ? The wardha Scheme of education. Mr. Gandhi is the genius who is at the back of it is nothing but Hindu culture. He is destroying Congress ideal with which it was started. He is responsible for turning Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism. His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu Raj in this country. He is utilizing the Congress to further this object. To-day Hindu mentality and outlook is being carefully nurtured and Muslims are being forced to accept Hindu ideals in their daily life. Have Muslims anywhere done anything of this sort ? Have they anywhere sought to impose Muslim culture on Hindus ? Yet where-ever Muslims raise the slightest voice of protest against this imposition of Hindu culture on them, they have been branded as communalists and as disturbers of public peace and the repressive machinery of the Congress

> Government has been set in motion against them. Take the case of the poor muslims in Bihar who have suffered suppression of culture under the Congress Government. It is the Mussalmans against whom are the repressive measures taken, prohibitory orders issued and arrests made. It is the Muslims."

After the address of the Quaid, the report of the Pirpur Committee, which had been appointed in March, 1938, to examine the Muslim grievances, was placed before the Session and a resolution condemning the atrocities committed on the Muslims in Bihar, U.P., C.P. was passed in the Working Committee of the Muslim League and it was authorised to decide and to resort to direct action, if and when necessary.

After the outbreak of the World war II, the Congress ministeries were wound up in November, 1939. The Quaid called upon the Muslims of India to observe December 2, 1939. as a Day of Deliverance and Thanks giving as a mark of relief that Congress regime had at last ceased to function. He asked the Provincial, the District and the Primary Muslim Leagues to hold public meetings, pass resolutions and after Jumma Prayers offer yrayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime. All this was to be done with a sense of humility, in an orderly manner, with no offence to the susceptibilities of anyother community. Accordingly, resolutions were passed. The following words of the resolution are noteworthy :—

> "The Congress ministries both in discharge of their duties of administration and in the legislatures have done their best to flout Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and social rights, that in matters of difference and disputes, the Congress ministry invariably has sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests. The Congress Govt. constantly interfered with the legiti-

mate and routine duties of District officers even in petty matters to the serious detriment of the Mussalmans and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief among the Hindu public that a Hindu Raj had been established which emboldened them to ill-treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights and freedoms. It, therefore, expresses its deep sense of thankfulness at the termination of Congress regime in various Provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the Day of Deliverance from tyranny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years and prays to God to grant such strength and discipline and organization to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a ministry again and to establish a truly popular Govt. which could do even justice to all communities and interests."

The resolution also requested the Governors to inquire into the legitimate grievances of the Mussalmans and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress ministries and to redress the same at the earliest moment.

The Congress leaders and Hindu Press kicked up a great row over the observance of the Day of Deliverance. So the Quaid made a statement to the Press in which he reiterated his charges and, inter-ali, said :—

"Let me inform Mr. Patel that we have over-whelming evidence in support of our case and far from shirking an inquiry, as is suggested, I insist that a through inquiry should now be made by a properly constituted Tribunal, invested with all necessary powers, and I now ask that a Royal Commission be appointed by the British Govt. of the purely judicial personnel and composed of Jndges of His Magesty's High Courts and under the Chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council."

But this challenge was not accepted either by the British Govern-

ment or by the Congress High Command as both knew that the Congress ministries had played hell and havoc with the Muslims and that the Governors were accessories to it all as they had not used their special powers to protect their political, economic, social and cultural rights and interests. The long night of terror, however, came to an end and "the Muslims emerged purer, like gold, from this crucible of fire." as the Quaid said.

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Baptism of Blood

The basic ojective of the Hindus was to establish Hindu Raj in India. An overwhelming part of the Congress consisted of such Hindus as were strongly influenced by the Hindu Mahasabah. They openly and clearly avowed their view about the Hindu Raj. Gandhi Jee held the same ideal but he equivocated and said different things at different times to hold the Muslims in the Congress fold. After he had taken over the control of Congress he gave a new orientation to its programmes and policics. He brought Hindu religion of the Vedic conception, complete with its caste and colour regulations, into the Congress. Qaid-e-Azam gave a classic analysis of this trend of the Congress in many of his speeches, especially in his address to the Muslim League Session on January 1, 1940. He said : When asked by Lord Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, as to what his motive in life was, the thing that leads us to do what we do, whether it was religious or social or political Mr.Gandhi replied as follows :—

> "Purely religious. This was the question asked me by the late Montague when I accompanied a depuation which was purely political. How you, a social reformer, he exclaimed, have found your way into this crowd ? My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I

> Idenitified myself with the whole of mankind and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religions apart from human activity. It provides moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing".

So that was Ghandi Jee's view about his own religion that it comprehended the entire gamut of human activity and yet with regard to Islam, he denied that religion could be the main factor in determining the character and the quality of the Muslim nation which was the view held by Allama Iqbal and the Quaid. He did not grant that status and character to Islam which he assigned to Hinduism. If Hinduism was the sole animating force of Hindu life and Hindu nation, then why Islam could not be the basic controlling force in respect of the Muslim culture and the Muslim nation? This was Gandhi Jee's dychotomy and his ambivalence. In Hinduism he felt a concern for both the material and the spiritual aspects of life, but he denied this ambivalence to Islam and wanted the Muslims to treat their religion as a private affair, keeping it out of their politics. He yearned for the domination of Hinduism not only over the spiritual life of the Hindus but the entire gamut of their activities, the logical corollary of which was that it should determine their politics and form their political creed. In other words, he wanted to charge Indian Politics with Hindu religion through and through and make Hinduism synonymous with Indian politics. But he did not wish the same for Islam. He could never tolerate Islam Influencing Muslim politics and bitterly opposed such an attitude which regarded Muslim politics as synomymous with Muslim religion, He wanted the Muslims to approach the Congress minus Islam while he wished the Hindus to come to Congress with all their Hinduism radiating from their face and form and figure, from their mind, their heart and their soul, making it the guiding and governing force in their life, including the social, the political and the economic. It was the energy and inspiration generated by this attitude that led

Gandhi Jee to Hinduise the entire routine of daily life in the conduct of the educational institutions and at the public Conferences through Bande matram, Saraswati Pooja, Widya Mandiar scheme, Hanuman Seva, Cow raksha, Hindi and Hindustani etc., during the two, and half year's Congress Rule, in a bid to assimilate Islam to Hinduism and eliminate the Muslim culture so as to ensure the perpetuation of political power in the hands of Hindus. But this attempt resulted in an ignominious failure only too soon as the Congress over-played its cards and met with a complete check-mate in the Quaid-e-Azam. It was, however, a test of fire for the Muslims who came out stronger and wiser from it.

The second attempt to destory the muslims was made by the Hindus at a later stage when all their efforts to thwart and throttle the muslim spirit and energy had failed and the Muslim's dream of a home land was being translated into reality. This is a story of blood and tears. I want to take up the tale from before the formation of the Iterim Government at the centre. The Cabinet Mission had declared its plan in the statement of May 16, 1946. It consisted of a long term and short term plans. It visualised the setting up of a constitution making body and the establishment of a three tier zonal system of Government as the long term, plan, and the formation of an Interim Government as the short term plan. Lord Wavell the Viceroy had issued a statement on the formation of the Interim Government on June 16, 1946, which stipulated, inter alia, the following :—

> "They (the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy) therefore, hope that all parties, especially the two majority parties, will accept this proposal so as to over-come the present obstacles and will cooperate for seccessful carrying out of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted, the Viceroy will aim at in-augurating the new Government about the 26th of June.
>
> "In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join the setting up of a coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the viceroy to proceedwith the formation of an Interim Government which will be representative as much as possible of those willing to accept the statement of may 16".

It is perfectly clear that the interim Government was to be formed by both the major parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, if they accepted the statement of May 16, but if they or any of them did not accept it, then the party which accepted it will be invited to form the Interim Government in coalition with other minorities like Sikhs, scheduled caste, Christians and Parsis. The Congress did not accept the long term and the short term plans as enunciated in the statement of May 16. But the Muslim League accepted it. It was, therefore, necessary for the Vice-Roy to call upon the Muslim League to form the Interim Government at the centre in cooperation with other minority parties. But Lord Wavell did no such thing. As it now appears from his journals, he was a weak and vacillating man who did not fully assert himself and allowed himself to be cowed and coerced by the wily Sir Stafford Cripps into postponing the formation of the Interim Government, as he was a dishonest man and was in the pocket of the Congress, as Wavell recorded. He issued a statement to this effect on June 20, 1946, and indicated his intention to form a care taker Government of the officials. This was absolutely unconstitutional and dishonourable on the part of Cripps as well as Wevell. It was an act of betrayal, But this was not all, More, and worse, was to come.

Cripps with no scense of shame, no compunction of conscience, no regard for the rules of the gamy, went ahead to intrigue and conspire with Ghandi Jee and Patel, worked on them with new promises and propositions and asked them to accept the declaration of May 16, taking it not as it was but as it should be according to them so that Muslim League was deprived of the opportunity to form the Interim Government ! Congress did so through a letter couched in terms which signified both acceptance and rejection of the plan. Yet, like a drowning man catching at a straw, the Vice-Roy who, as it seems, was simply waiting for a nod from them, invited the Congress to form the interim Governmen. What a perfidious proceeding !

The Quaid exposed all these machinations and manuvres of Cripps and Congress in his speech at the meeting of the all India Muslim League on July 28, 1946. He said :

"On the night of June 24. Congress Committee had

rejected both the long term aud the short term proposals Early in the morning of June 23, the indefatigable Sir stafford Cripps went and worked upon Mr. Gandhi in the Bhangi Colony. It seems he did not cut much ice. He He came back and Lord Pethick Lawrence was put on the scent of Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel, the strong man of of the Congress. He waylaid Patel on the road and took him to his house and there they concocted a device. The Congress was persuaded to accept the long term proposal even with their own interpertation and reservations and the Mission assured the Congress that they would abandon the Interim Government scheme of June 16. It is like a drowning man catching at a straw. They wanted some how or other to say that their Mission was not a complete failure. This is exactly what happened. Now I ask the Vice-Roy to issue a statement giving a categorical explanation on this point. This is a grave charge against the honour, integrity and character of the members of the Cabinet delegation and the Vice-Roy...Crips resorted to jugglery of words...I am sorry to say that he debased his legal talents and put his dishonest interpertation on the clause ...a fantastic-and dishonest construction was put on it by that ingenious juggler of words, Cripps, to evade the formation of the Interim Government......The British Government have undoubtedly gone back on their words. They have played into the hands of the Congress. They have tried to propitiate the goddess of the Congress.........They have accepted what is no acceptance at all on the part of the Congress of the long term proposal......When the represntatives of HMG go back on their own words within ten days and dishonour themselves and their Government they represent and the nation to whom they belong, what confidence can we have in these people"?

The Muslim League revoked their acceptance of the plan on July 28, 1946. It was as result of the perfidious part played by the

British Government and its treacherous betrayal and breach of faith that the Muslim League Council on Iuly 29, 1946, at its Bombay Session, passed the famous Direct Action Resolution challenging both the Banias, the British as well as the Hindu, exposing the close collaboration that existed between them and showing a gaping and gasping world as to who was the agent and the ally of the British Imperialism, the Congress or the League. It said.

> "And whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India could not rest content with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully soverign state of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution, long term or short term, or setting up of any Interim Govt. at thecentre without the approval and consent ofthe Muslim Leagae...MuslimLeague isnow convinced that the timehas come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct Action to achieve Pakistan and get rid of present slavery under the British and the contemplated future caste Hindu domination. This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative organization, the all India Muslim League and be ready for every sacrifice, as a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British Government; this council calls upon the Muslims to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government".

Address.ng this historic session the Quaid delivered his memorable speech every phrase and every word of which is a living lava. He said :

> "What we have done today is the most historic act of our history. Never have we, in the whole history of the League, done any thing except by constitutional methods and constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good bye to constitutional methods. Through out the fateful negotiation with the Cabinet Delegation and Vice-Roy the other two parties, the Bзitish and the Congress, held

> a pistol in their hands, the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and noncooperation. Today we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it...The Muslim League was moved by higher and greater considerations than any other party in India ... We sacrificed the soveriegn State of Pakistan at the altar of the Congress for securing the Independence of whole of India ... But this has been treated with defiance and contempt. Then are we alone to be guided by reason and justice, honesty and fair-play while, on the other hand, there are perfidious dealings by the Congress Committee ? There was no sign, not the slightest gesture of compromise from them, but honour, honesty, stares-manship, justice and fairplay always win in the long run...Today Muslim India is stirred as never before...But now we realize that this has been for Muslim India the greatest blessing in disguise. We have learnt a bitter lesson, the bitterest, I think, so far. Now there is left no room for compromise. Let us march on...The Cabinet Mission had been intellectually paralysed and their report to the Parliament was not even honest to themselves, and was devoid not only of political ethics, but every manner of principle and morality".

Then the Quaid raised his voice and quoting from Firdosi, the great persian epic poet, thundered :

اگر جز بکام من آمد جواب   من و گرز و میدان و افرسیاب

At the end of the speech of the Quaid, the top ranking Muslim League Leaders went up to the mike and one after another made declarations renouncing their titles.

Commenting on this great and glorious act of the Quaid and the Muslim League in passing the Direct Action Resolution, the Blitz of Bombay wrote as follows :—

> "The worst enemies of Muslim League cannot help envying the Leadership of Mr. Jinnah. The cataclysmic transformation of the Muslim League from the reaction-

> ary racket of the Muslim Nawabs, Noons, and Knights into a revolutionary mass organization, dedicated to an anti-imperialist struggle, eompels us to express the sneaking national wish that a diplomat and startegist of Jinnah's proven calibre were at the halm of the Indian Nntional Congress. There is no denying the fact that by this latest master stroke of diplomacy, Jinnah has out bid., outwitted and out-manceuvred the British and the Congress alike and confounded the common national indictment that Muslim League isa parasite ofBritish Imperislim."

The Quaid called upon the Muslims to observe August 16, as the Direct Action Day. They were asked to suspend all business, to observe a complete "Hartal", to hold public meetings throughout the length and breadth of India to explain the reason for rejecting the Cabinet Mission plan, to castigate the British treachery and condemn the Congress perfidy. The entire exercise was to be crrried out perfectly peacefully, in good discipline and order, Acts of hatred and hospility towards the other communities were interdicted. The day passed off peacefully with no eruption of violence at any place except Calcutta where the Bengali Hindus, who had been trained in terroristics and were fully armed with explosive material, called in the Siks and both, in a planned and organized manner, under the direction and control of the Hindu Mahasabah and its militant units like RSS and Jansangh, in a bid to rout the Muslims, to plant terror in their heart and to make short-work of their mammoth meeting, moved in and swooped down upon the unprepared and unarmed Mussolmans who had come to the grand gathering to listen to their Leaders and to make a success of it. leaving their woman and children behind in their houses in the the Mohallahas unprotected, and like hell-hounds let loose on the Muslims humanity, caught them in a maelstrom of murder, loot and arsom, spread chaos and carnage, death and dismay every where. For three days this bloody blitz raged over tiny 24% muslim minority of Calcutta unabated and unchecked Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani' who was present at the meeting, gave the following account ;—

"It was a-round 11-30 in the morning that while working near the monumet, in the "Maidan" of the meeting, I received news that at the circular road end of Copora-tion street, Hindus were thiowing bottles and brick-bats at the Muslim processionists passing through the streets below. Later, a few more incidents were reported about 3-30 in the afternoon. News came that Sikhs and Hindus in Bhawanipur District had fallen upon the muslim woman and children. By that time murder loot and arson had already started in several areas of Calcutta... I rushed to Bhawanipur where I was almost killed by a Sikh who thrust his sword through the ventilator of the driving window of my car. It was sheer instinct of self preservation which made me throw my body as far back as I could. The sword passed my chest with a clearance of about two inches......During the 3 agonising days I engaged myself for 16 and 18 hours a day in picking up dead and wounded Muslims from Hindu quarters...My blood—spattered car had to be washed inside and out every morning. Thousands of innocent men, women and children were brutally massacred bringing back to memory the days of Changez Khan and Halagu Khan. Corpses lay in heaps on street corners......In the Bustees where the minority of Muslims was butchered without compunction and compassion, human beings had over-night become irrational beasts."

General Sir Francis Tuker, who was an eye-witness to these tragic transactions, in the chapter entitled Great Calcutta Killing recorded as follows :—

"The Great Calcutta Cilling began on Direct Action Day August 16,......When a big number of muslims con-gregated to listen to the explanations of their Leaders. Hindus and Muslims soon turned on each other with their vicious knives in unbridled savagery, homicidal maniacs, let loose to kill, maim, and burn. The under-world of Calcutta was taking charge of the City...The market was strewn with deadbodies".

According to Hodson, "some 20,000 people were killed or seriously injured in Calcutta where whole streets were strewn with corpses... Muslim were the worst victims for they were in a minority in the City and the Sikhs, in particular, a comparatively small community in Calcutta, but tough and armed and largely motorised, being the machanics and drivers of Bengal, as of so many places, swept furiously through the Muslim quarters slaying murcilessly as they went".

Jan Stephens also said that "the Muslim losses were the worst because they were heavily out-numbered and because the local Hindu Organizations, hearing that some Muslim attack was contemplated, had made formidable counter preparations although Mr. Jinnah had said that meetings in themselves would not be Direct Action and that those who came were asked to behave peace-fully." Lord Wavell recorded in his journal on March I4, 1947. that Chief Justice came to say good bye and they had a long talk. He said that Calcutta inquiry will show that there was Hindu incitement and a sudden and concerted attack without provocation was made on the Muslims. Mr. Ispahani wrote that Calcutta carnage had upset and pained the Quaid beyond measure, and his feelings indicated that notwithstanding his external reserve, he was at heart intensely human for the suffering of the innocent humanity deeply affected him. He said, "this proves what treatement the Muslims should expect from the Hindu majority if they exist as a minority in undivided India."

The Calcutta carnage was the first blood-bath given to the Muslim minority by the Hindu majority at the crucial stage before partition. The Hindus wanted to force and intimidate the Muslims into giving up their demand for a separate home land. But instead of damping their resolve, this cruelty steeled them in their determination and sealed the fate of India. It started a chain of violence and wickedness. Its first stirrings were felt in Muslims Noakhali where, as General Tuker said, "less then 300 persons were killed or injured but terrible and deliberately false stories were blown over the world by a hysterical Hindu press and these stories did infinite harm in India by kindling among the Hindus of Bihar and U.P. a desire for revenge".

Gandhi Jee toured the Muslim majority areas of Bengal and plan-

ted himself at Noakhali forgetting the fate of the Muslims of Bihar and Garhmuskte swar where the venom and the virulence of the Hindu propaganda had soaked through every pour of the Hindu mind and thoroughly inflamed and ignited it and brought about colossal tragedies in the two places. In the Bihar Butchery in October-November 1946, 30 thousands muslims were killed and 1, 15,000 had been driven out of their homes and houses. As General Tuker recorded, "of all the terrible doings of 1946, this was the most shocking. Its most dastardly side was that great mobs of Hindus turned up suddenly but with every preparation for the deed upon the few muslims who had lived and whose forefathers had lived in amity and trust all their lives among these very Hindu neighbours...It was a well-laid, widely-planned plot of extirpation...It went according to fixed plan and schedule...The atrocities committed were terrible and a foretaste of those to come at garhmukteswar a few week later in November 1946. Women and their babies were ripped up and butchered with an obscene devilry that, a civilised people cannot even conjure forth in their imagination."

After two days of harrowing stay in Bihar, Lord Wavell recorded on November 9, 1946, that "in Bihar there had been a savagery and bestiality even worse than the Calcutta Killings and more terrible than Noakhali riots and the victims were all muslims."

The butchery of Muslims was repeated in the massacre of the muslims at Garhmukteswar in U.P. during the celebrations of a religious fair by the Hindus. The Hindu pilgrims, in the fulness of their fire and fury, induced by the inflammatory speeches of the Hindu Mahasaba and the poisonous propaganda of the Hindu press, set upon the muslims, firstly in the fair and then sallied forth into the town killing them and burning them in the Hindu Kali—Carnival to the number of 2000. General Tuker in his book, while Memory Serves, wrote :

> "Here at Garhmukteswar, women and children were murdered with appalling cruelty...Even pregnant women were ripped up, their unborn babies torn out and the infant's brain dashed out on walls and on the grounds. There was rape and women and children were seized by the legs by the fiends and torn apart. They looted and burnt

the mela stalls casting the dead and the dying into flames. Most were killed with spears but some of the killings were by strangulation which, it will be recalled, was the ritual method of the thugs. The murderers's women stood about laughing with glee at the burning booths, egging on their menfolk" !

Now we move to the western theatre where muslim massacres was planned and executed on a scale, unprecedented and unparalled in history, by the Sikhs. Vast forces of the Hindu Congress, the English Mountbatten and the muslim Khizar Hayat went into its enactment by way of aid and abetment to the Sikh who had been frustrated in his demand for a Sikh State as he did not have a majority at any place. In course of his marathon talks with the Cabinet Mission, Wavell and Mountbatten, the Quaid, who had a deep concern for the rights and interests of all the minorities, had a diologue with the Maharaja of Patiala, Giani Kartar Singh and other Sikh Leaders. He regarded them as a sub-national group, expressed full sympathy and respect for them and their aspirations and offered them an autonomous Sikh home-land in West Pakistan. But the Sikh Leaders had neither political wisdom nor imagination. They had no unity, no organization and no national sensibility to weld them into a force to be reckoned with. They were, therefore, treated with contempt by the British. Lord Wavell recorded the following remarks about them in his journals :—

12.5.46. "I could only say that I thought the Sikhs, if they played their cards well, could exercise an influence in the Punjab far beyond their number. But they do not really play well and are too fond of cheating".

6.6.46. We saw the Sikhs, Tarasingh and Baldev Singh. We told them agitation and disturbance could be only harmful to their cause and would not be tolerated...The trouble is that the Sikhs have never forgotten that they once owned the Punjab, that they have been rather spoiled in the past, that they have no political sense and an exaggerated idea of their own abilities and importance.

16.5.46. Came Beldev Sing and Master Tarasingh launched into a declamatory jeremiad on the wrongs and oppressions of the Sikhs and their demand for an area completely their own which is impossible.

22.1.47. Met three Sikhs, Harnamsingh, Kartar Singh and Ujjal Singh who talked for 45 minutes about their requirements and safe-guards......Making it very clear to me what they did want and I am not sure that they were really clear themselves. But they were friendly and only wanted sympathic noises from me really, I think.

6.3.47. I saw Baldev Singh...says there can be no coalition between Sikhs and the Muslim League. Harked back to the days of the Moguls and old feuds between Sikhs and Muslims.

13.3.47, Sikhs...are disunited and poorly led. Master Tara Singh is stupid and emotional."

The only politician in the sub continent who combined great Statesman ship with a complete sense of honesty and honour and who could be perfectly relied upon was the Quaid-e-Azam. He had been through the mill as a member of a minority community and knew the pangs and problems of the minorities and was intent on securing their due rights to them. He extended the hand of friendship to the Sikhs but they rejected it and fell in the treacherous trap of the Congress. They fondly thought that it was a war of succession and that the grabber was the holder. So they launched upon a planned policy of Muslim annihilation in a way that showed that elemental passions of vendetta and vengeance, of hatred and hostility, were at work. Master Tara Singh unsheathed his sword, brandished it at the steps of the Punjab Assembly, challenged the muslims and shouted "Down with Pakistan. The Sikh shall rule and none else will survive".

The Sikh Leaders in close cooperation with the Hindu militant organizations had prepared a plan of mass-decimation of muslims, and their Leaders, especially the Quaid, at the Karachi celebrations on the Independance Day by throwing a bomb at his car, and of destroying the vital points in West Pakistan economy like headworks, bridge-heads, etc. As I mentioned in the chapter on British Bunglings, this planned conspiracy was detected by Mr. Savage of

the CID who told this to the Punjab Governor who, in his turn, sent him to Mountbatten who heard every thing that he had to say in presence of the Quaid, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Patel, but, inspite of a demand from the Muslim League Leaders for the arrest of Sikh Leaders who had been implicated in the genocidal conspiracy of Master Tara Singh, Mauntbatten, who was under the thumb of the Congress, did not take any action. The Punjab, Governor Jenkins also failed to take any steps. Not only this, he, on the resignation of the Khizr Ministry, did not invite the Muslim League Assembly Party to form a Government in the Punjab, again at the behest of Mountbatten so that the criminal conspiracies of the Sikhs and their hectic preparations went space without any let or hindrance. They amassed arms, equipment and explosives. The Sikh Princes in East Punjab contributed to their funds and lent the support of their militia and police and allowed the Sikh gangs to operate from their bases in their state. Similar protection and patronage was afforded to armed raiders on muslim trains and foot columns passing through their territorial limits by the rulers of Rajisthan. The Sikhs and Hindus proceeded in a thorough manner. First they disarmed the Muslim police of the East Punjab through a general official order. As Hodson wrote, from 70 to 80 per cent of the Punjab police consisted of Muslims and they had been disarmed under the orders of their nonmuslims seniors. Then they set the Hindu and Sikh police and magistracy to search the Muslim houses and recover arms from them. Legally they had no right to make recovery of licensed arms, but it was an iron time and nobody cared for the Law, especially in respect of the despoliation of the Muslims Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan, my father-in-law, who was an Education Officer in Jullundar at the time, gave me a first hand account of the harrowing experiences that he, his relatives and friends and the Muslims in general had to go through :

> "It was 11 A.M. when the A.D.M. with a police posse camp up to my house for search and recovery of arms. My wife, who had given birth to a child, was lying in bed. The A.D.M. was well-known to me. I told him that I had no arms. But throwing all regards for friendship to the winds, he assumed a menacing posture and insisted on searching every nook and corner of the house,

threatening to arrest me if I did not sumbit to his orders. He went into all the rooms but nothing was recovered. Ultimately he picked up a toy-pistol with which my young son used to play and held it up before me in triumph, chuckled and said : I have at last found this pistol and now I am going to arrest you.' I protested that it was merely a toy pistol for children to play with. But he was in a deadly mood and appeared to be bent upon putting the fetters on my hands. His Reader, however, pleaded with him and said that it was really a toy and not a pistol, as defined under the Arms Act. At this he relented and threw his find away but now heinsisted that he will also search the room on the roof where my wife was confined to bed. I explained the position to him and it was with great difficulty that I succeeded in dissuading him from disturbing my parturient wife. After his departure, the Sikhs and the Hindus attacked the locality. Many of my Pathan relatives whose houses stood in the front row were killed and injured. A Hindu boy called jungi, who had taken position on the roof of his house with a gun and a good supply of ammunition, kept firing at my house so that nobody could slip away. When I passed through my cour.yard, the shots were coming and I escaped them by inches. I managed to take my wife and children hurriedly away through the back door, stumbling over thorns, to a better fortified Mohallah and from there to the refugee camp in the Cantonment area. We stayed there for 10 days. Hindus used to bring food and water mixed with pioson and many inmates of the camp died of it in the beginning. But after the first experience, we kept away from these Tıojan gifts. It was a horrible experience. Most of us had died and those that escaped were either maimed and mutilated or dazed and shocked beyond recovery. Death and destruction stalked the streets. The Muslim Mohallahs went up in flames. Murder, loot, arson and rape descended on the Muslim families like a curse. Girls were stripped naked before the eyes of their parents and crimes of worse type were perpetra-

ted on them. Fathers and brothers were shot down while the sisters and daughters were herded together like cattle and driven away. Naked Muslim girls w th their hands tied behind their back were paraded in the streets and taunted that that was their Pakistan ! Special trains, trucks and buses taking the Muslims from Dehli and the Punjab to Pakistan were stopped, attacked by merciless Hindu and Sikh Jathas and their entire human cargo was plundered and put to death. Many Muslim girls, in a bid to save their honour, committed suicide by taking poison or jumping from the roofs of their houses or by hurling themselves into wells. Many brothers and fathers put up a heroic fight to save the life and honour of their women folk. Such acts of glory and grandeur, of human sypmathy and kindness, however, lighted up the dark night of suffering here and there and poured out a balm on the festering wounds of humanity".

Jan Morrison giving and eye-witness account of the tragedy of muslims wrote from Jullundar :

> "More horribe than anything we saw during the war is the universal comment of the experienced Officers, British and Indian, on the present slaughter in East Punjab. The Sikhs are clearing the East Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee westward, burning Muslim villages and home steads, even in their frenzy burning their own. The violence has been organized from the highest level of Sikh Leadership, and it is being done systematically sector by sector...on the 15th of August, the day of liberation was strangely celebrated in the Punjab. During the after noon, a Sikh mob paraded a number of Muslim women naked through the streets of Amritsar, raped them and then hacked some of them to pieces with their Kirpans and burnt the others alive".

On September 18, the London Times wrote that more Indian people had been killed during the short space of the past month than in all the civil broils of the last 50 years. Millions had been rendered

homeless. A transfer of population of unprecedented scale had exposed the administration of the two Punjabs to unbearable strain which was reluctant and ill-fitted to cope with it that already dwarfs in size anything caused by war in Europe".

As Hodson said, gruesome attacks were made on refugee trains by Sikhs. In four days from 20th to 23rd September, 2700 Muslims had been killed or wounded on trains. Mountbatten also recorded in his report that attacks on trains carrying Muslim refugees from Dehil to Lahore had mostly been by Sikh Jathas operating from the Sikh states inside East Punjab.

The Punjab boundary force had 55000 men to curb and control the terrostistic activities of the miscreants in the Punjab. But it was insufficient to deal with the gigantic eruption of violence. They could not even guard the trains and the transport system, not to speak of watching over the vast rural areas where barbarity and bestiality reigned supreme. The force was ultimately disbanded and the two dominions took charge of the situation within their respective borders. F.M. Auchinleck, the Supreme Commander made the following remarks in his farewel letter to its Commander Major General Rees :—

> "Massacre, Arson and disorder were started in Amritsar before the boundary commission had made its award, and it had nothing to do with the boundary or anything connected with it. The whole movement was undoubtedly planned long before hand and soon gave rise to inevitable repercussions in the West Punjab. So that you and troops were faced with a problem quite different from that which you had been asked to solve and far beyond your capacity."

Master Tara Singh had turned into a rabid, raving maniac. He declared, "this is war" and went ahead with his deadly attacks on the Convoys and columns of Muslim refugees. As Hodson recorded "The Sikh community at this time was the worst aggressors. Pandit Nehru himself told Lord Mountbatten that Master Tara Singh had admitted that the Sikh Leaders had been inciting their followers to violence and approved of most of what they had done". At another place he wrote,

"A vast column of muslims was about to pass through Amritsar when Indian Army Officers tried to get Master Tara Singh to guarantee its safety...He gave no such assurance. The column was diverted along the Canal roads but these started to break up. A by-pass was bulldozed around Amritsar but was put out of action by heavy rains. The passage through the city brought heavy casualties and bitter recrimination".

The Muslim refugees harassed, hunted and bounded were coming to their dream-land in millons from Dehli and the East Punjab areas. The situation in the entire region from Dehli to Amritsar was the most gruesome and griesly. It was a vast blanket of blood and fire. The whole area was red with Muslim blood. All that happened in the East Punjab had its repercussion in the West. But here it did not degenerate into barbarity as none of the Muslim League Leaders supported it. All of them condemned it in unmistakable terms, hindered it and did every thing to put a stop to it. Quaid-e-Azam even insisted, as Hodson recorded, that the troops who were controlling the situation should be ordered "to shoot to kill and not to take any prisoners among the rioters." The Quaid had himself rushed to Lahore to control the situation there. No attacks were made on columns of nonmuslims. As Mauntbatten recorded in his report to HMG, the King, "there was a marked contrast between the organization of the columns in the two directions. (He had seen this from the air) Those from the East were poor and ill organized, looking as if they had been driven out or fled in panic while those from the West were in good marching order." The reason is obvious. The Muslim columns from the East were hawked and huuted, pillaged and plundered by the Sikhs and the Hindus while the nonmuslim columns from the West were not harassed or hammered. They were allowed a peacefull passags. This difference arose from the nature of the two cultures. Most of the Muslims are by nature more liberal and lenient, more manly and mild, more generous and gentle, more brave and benevolent than the Hindus and Sikhs whose Leaders like Savarkar, Patel and Master Tara Singh had absolutely no sense of human values in respect of the Muslims and who had planned the extirpation of Muslims and secured its execution. A few good souls were there among the Hindus like Gandhi Jee and Sardar Diwan Singh Muftoon. But the general

body of the Hindus hated humanity of Gandhi Jee so much that they killed him ! Acts of heroism and humanity, which shone out in this long night of terror were, however, not wanting, especially among the Muslims. A number of Muslims like Syed Sher Muhammad Trimzi and Muhammad Aslam Chathha protected the life and honour of those Hindus and Sikhs who had taken shelter into their house, at grave risk to their own life, and performed feats of service to harassed humanity and thereby did honour to themselves and to their nation, Hodson has mentioned an instance of a Sikh Major who had received many wounds while defending the Muslim special train taking the Government servants from Dehli to Lahore. These deeds of glory and grandeur restore our faith in the essential goodness of human nature.

Muslims came to Pakistan leaving behind millons of their brothers and sisters in the throes of death and dishonour, crossing Jungles of fire and rivers of blood. Nine millons of them reached the land of their hope. Many of them touched the sacred soil of Pakistan, kissed it and died at the border. They, wounded and exhausted, with their feet covered with blisters and boils, through the long and weary trek, were suspended between life and death, in the hope of having a glimpse of Pakistan and once they saw the green and white filag, with the crescent and star, fluttering in the wind at the border, their happiness was complete. They desired nothing more and gave up the ghost. They had been nursing this great and glorious ideal in their heart, cherishing it with all the power of their soul, feeding it on their life blood. Yes, they were real Pakistanis, these idealists, these dreamers, these lovers of Pakistan who gave up their all for its name, for its idiology, for its faith and philosophy—. They, in the glow and gleam of their soul, with hope and faith in their heart and the Call of the Quaid still ringing in their ears, had turned up in their millons to vote for Pakistan and thereby had earned the implacable animus and animosity of their neigh bours, who had opened the flood—gates of hell on them—. The men of satiric comment and sardonic smile, with sourness and cynicism choking up in their soul, will dismiss them as worthless and unworthy objects. But the common Muslim humanity will not and shall not have it so. The music of Pakistan had gone into their soul and lit up their whole being. Let us, therefore, revere their memorary and not mock at it. Yes, they were nameless

and faceless, they were obscure and unknow. Yet sincerely and faithfully they walked in the way of Pakistan which, rightly and truly, was and still is, the way of Allah. And there is nothing greater, nothing higher, than walking in the way of Allah, in the way of Pakistan. Yes, they have died, they have perished. But their memory is imperishable. Their spirit is immortal. So they are not dead, they are alive, only ye know them not. They were baptised with blood for the sake of Pakistan. Their blood is sacred. Let us be worthy of their blood. They died so that we, their sons and daughters, their brothers and sisters, may live. So let us live, live with honour, live with glory. And there can be no life without honour and glory unless we live for the ideals of Quaid-e-Azam and the ideals of Pakistan and the ideals of Allah. Let us keep the trust of the Quaid and be worthy of it. Let us build it as the true haunt and home of the ideals of the Quaid who wanted to make it the citadel of Islam, the bed-rock and anchorsheet of Islam, the fortress of liberty, equality and social and economic justice as enunciated by Islam, untrammelled and untouched by the distinctions of blood and Brahamanism, caste and colour, race and region, language and literature. This is the soul of the culture of Islam and it was to save this soul from the onslought of Brahamanism that the Quaid waged a life-long battle. And this battle is not yet over. It is an eternal battle, continuously raging and constantly challenging. We have to accept this challenge and join this battle to subdue the Brahamanism within and without. It will keep raising its head at all times, at all places, in various forms, with various faces, in the subtlest way possible, calculated to divide and disunite us, in moments of weakness. So we have to be ever vigilant, ever watchful, ever strong. That is the only way to live, the only way to survive. And we owe it to the Quaid-e-Azam and to the numberless, nameless crusaders who accepted baptism of blood but refused to submit their soul to be submerged [and swamped by Brahamanism. This is the mission of Islam. We have to maintain it. We have to uphold the freedom of the human soul. We have to struggle to extend this freedon. As the human horizon is ever growing, ever expanding, so is the frontier of the human soul. It has its own dynamism, its own power, its own ideal. We must cooperate with its benignant and beneficent tendencies, we must respond to its call, undaun-

ted by the fear that, in the process, Brahamanism will baptise up with blood. Brahamanism will go on fulfilling its nature, dividing people into categories of caste and colour, raising barriers of birth and blood among them. We must go on to fulfit our mission, demolishing the Brahmanical barriers, declaring our abiding faith in the freedon of the human soul and the equality of man. As Iqbal said, an eternal war is on between the principle of Islam and the bogey of Brahamanism. Even non-Brahmans may develop Brahmanism. Hence the necessity of flushing it out now and then, through cultural revolutions, through renewing and regenerating the spirit of Islam. Grades and degrees, as Shakespears said, are in nature. But when they become enshrined into dehumanising dogmas and are entrenched into symbols of status, objects of madpursuit in themselves, as in the Mandarinate system in China and the elite system in India, then a Mau and a Quaid must carry out its flushing and fumigating so that the benefits and the blessings, the fruits and the flowers, of the total national effort after the Independence, are not avidly and exclusively lapped up by a few on the pretext of the Bhahmanical concept of caste and colour, grades and degrees, but are, justly and equitably, shared by all.

This is our tryst, this is our rendezvous with our destiny. We must not fail in it. We must occomplish it, as the Quaid did. He did not submit or yield to the Brahmanism of his day, the double Brahamanism of the British and the Hindus. He led his people to victory through basins of blood end floods of fire. This was the price that we paid for our liberation. Now we will never submit to any brand of Brahmanism on the borders or inside. This must be our resolve, our Quaid-like resolve.

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so that, as that, at the present, Brahmanism [illegible] with Islam [illegible] Brahmanism will go on [illegible] dividing people into watertight castes and colour, raising barriers of birth and blood among them. We must get on to [illegible] our mission, [illegible] the Brahmanism, [illegible] our abiding faith in the freedom of the human soul and the equality of man. As I said [illegible] war is on between the principle of Islam and the bogey of Brahmanism. [illegible] Brahmanism may develop Brahmanism. Hence the necessity of fighting it out now and here, through cultural revolutions, [illegible] and [illegible] the spirit of Islam. [illegible] and degrees as [illegible] gold, are in [illegible] that [illegible] they become coloured [illegible] and are [illegible] into [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] the Manusmriti system in [illegible] and the [illegible] system in [illegible], from Manu and [illegible] Quaid [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] that the Pandits and the [illegible], the Truth and the Powers, of the [illegible] effort [illegible] are not wholly and exclusively [illegible] by a few on the pretext of the [illegible] concept of caste and colour, [illegible] and degrees [illegible] divinely ordained.

This is our creed, this is our rendezvous with our destiny. [illegible] We must accomplish it, as the Quaid did, [illegible] not submit or yield to the Brahmanism of the day, the [illegible] the [illegible] of the British and the Hindus. He led his people to victory through [illegible] of blood and floods of fire. This was the price we paid for our liberation. Now we will never submit to the [illegible] of Brahmanism on the [illegible] or [illegible]. This must be our resolve, our Quaid [illegible].

The British Bunglings

The moral quality of a nation determines its span of life and power. There was a time (in 17th Century) when men like Pym, Elliot, Hampden, Cromwell, Milton & Marvell were born in England who, through their moral sublimity and intellectual loftiness, formed and fashioned the ideals of a free, democratic and enterprising nation. Then in the 18th Century came spirits like Burke and Johnson, who upheld the honour and integrity of England when, drunk with power and puffed with pride, some Englishmen, who glorified the three pence on tea as the only principle by which could the English nation survive or maintain its supremacy in America, did their best to beggar its subjects into submission in the West and coerce them into slavery in the East. They spoke out, loud and clear, against all acts of tyranny and injustice. The American question called forth the thunderbolts of Burke who, in the growing rapacity of the English nation, had seen lurking a danger to its soul. That is why he asked :—

> "What is the Empire of America to us ? or the Empire of the World if we lose or own liberties ?."

In India, as Macaulay admitted, the first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless than even the Mahrattas. But the cruelties of Clive & the high-handedness of Hastings did not go un-

noticed and unqnestioned. Burke & Sheridan roared in the British Parliament and impeached them. The famous peroration of Burke in the impeachement of Hastings shows the high moral tone of the British nation. There was a flood of eloquence, charged with high purpose and delivered in a memorable manner. He said :

> "I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons House of Parliament whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the British nation whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India whose rights he has trodden under foot and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rule, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all."

Similarly, Dr. Johnson said "I would prefer that our India Empire perished then hold it by iniquity." Then in the 19th Century there appeared the giants like Carlyle, Ruskin and Arnold who hurled life-long challenges to moral corruption and mental perversion that was creeping in the English character. But in the 20th Century, the initial and the ultimate, met and the wheel came full circle in men like Cripps, Wavell, Mounthatten and Radcliffe who showed the depth of depravity to which the British Character had sunk. What a decay, what a fall it was ! And not a soul stirred, not a voice was raised, not a rustle was felt and not a rumble was made in any mind and soul of the British Nation against what they did. Mounthatten and Radcliffe repeated the conspiracy of Hastings and Impey. But no Burke was there to notice and nab it, to indict and impeach them.

It has always been my belief that the decay of a nation becomes complete when the spurt of cruelty & barbarity & the burst of rapine and rapacity goes un-noticed by the men of mind and conscience in that nation. If it remains unquestioned and unchallenged and there is no protest and no indictment, then, most certainly, the moral decline

and the spiritual death of that nation must be taken to be complete. Insensibility to iniquity clearly signifies the rot and the rout in the character of a people. So was it with the British nation at the epochal turning of the affairs in the fortunes of the sub-continent. Now I will make a critical assessment of the role played by the British minds in the Indian darama at this stage & bring out the depth of decay in their character. It must be clearly understood at the outset that the World War-II had sapped the moral and material resources of Britain so utterly that it, combined with the internal situation in the subcontinent where a movement for freedom had been launched by the League and the Congress, had made the place too hot for their further stay. To the urge of the people for national self-determination, lot of urgency has been added by the trend and tendency of the World under the impact of the American thinking, the Russian revolution & the Chinese struggle. As a result of this inter-play of forces, the British lost the will to hang on to India. How low had been the British morale at this stage is clear from what Bevin said to Wavell, as the latter recorded "Every one is kicking us around in palestine, Egypt, Sudan, India and our international prestigue is very low. U. S. A. which pilloried Britian as imperialist was very worried about India." Similarly, Wavell mourned in a pathetic vein the British loss of will and vigour in the following words :—

> "Our time in India is limited and our power to control events is almost gone. We have only prestige and previous momentum to trade on and they will not last long."

At another place Wavell lamented that "the British rule in India will end in discredit end eventually in an ignominious scuttle or dismissal."

All this fully and clearly shows the aenimic condition of the British.

1. H.M.G. & Cabinet Mission.

Now I will take up the British characters in the darama of the sub-continent & deal with them one by one and show their moral

decadence. First comes the British Government. The main interest of the British Govt., as described by Lord Wavell, was confined to "securing a peaceful with drawal with least injury to British security, prosperity & prestige." Lord Mountbatten said that he was there "to see that the successor Governments in the sub continent remained in the Commonwealth & no damage was caused to British trade and commerce". So the British thought that their interest would best be served by pleasing the Congress and by pandering to their whims as they were the bigger party. So they did everything to help the Congress regardless of the moral quality & consideration of their act. Wavell recorded that "the Congress regarded the British Government as being in its pocket". The British cheated not only one another but also the Muslim India. Practice of chicane, duplicity, & mendacity were rife and rampant. Wavell recorded in various entries of his journals that the British Govt. was dishonest. On Jan : 10, he wrote that George Abell was really horrified at their (the Prime Minister and members of his majesty's Govt.) lack of realism and honesty. Similarly, he exposed the character and the conduct of Sir Stafford Cripps, who was the main force and spirit behind the Cripps Misssion earlier and the Cabinet Mission later, as wanting in impartialty, independence & honesty. He said, "Cripps showed his Congress bias strongly and said that he would resign if this was not done. Cripps threatened resignation freely, I think it is third or fourth time that he has spoken of it." Again he recorded "I am quite sure that Cripps or Secretary of State or both have committed themselves to the Congress." On July, 29, 1946, he wrote that the Cabinet Mission was living in the pocket of the Congress while out here. Then he deplored the dishonesty of Cripps and regretted his own stupidity and weakness in not spotting his dishonesty earlier and in not standing up to it. He said "I do feel guilty of not seeing through Cripps's manoeuvres and refusing to be a party to Congress's insincere acceptance of the statement of May 16 and the dishonesty of Cripps and Pethick lawrence in instigating Congress to make such an acceptance". Wavell admitted this in his journals which were first published in 1973. Although at the time when the confabulations of the Cabinet Mission were going on, he did not admit anything of it and in a

brazen way conspired with the Congress and criticized the Quaid. But Quaid had exposed the tricks of the Cabinet mission in his speeches, I will deal with it at a later stage. Wavell also wrote that "it was the one point on which during the negotiations Alexander refused to support me and I rather weakly gave way". About the telegram of the Secretary of State he said, "It gave me the general impression of being both dishonest and cowardly". In the entry for October 30, 1940, he recorded "the fatal weakness of the mission is their abject attitude to Congress and the duplicity of Cripps which left behind a legacy. While Jinnah and the League considered that they have been sold down the river. I have paid a heavy price for not being firmer. And allowing myself to be double-crossed by Cripps" Ultimately he remarked on the leakage of the secret file from his office through a Hindu Stenographer to the Congress whose President Pandit Nahru showed it to Cripps who concealed it from him (Wavell) !

2. **Lord Wavell.**

He was the penultimate Voiceroy of India. He was a weak military man. His position, as it appeared during the marathon talks of the Cabinet mission with the Congress and the League, was not only weak but also dogged by want of moral courage. He was shifty and slippery. As Mr. Altaf Hussain recorded, the Quaid told him that he had never come acrose so slippery a Voiceroy as wavell. He did not have the guts to stand up to the dishonesty of Cripps, as mentioned above. He was either brow-beaten and bamboozled by Cripps or himself had a crooked consience which led him to betray the Muslim League. He did not invite it to form the interim Government, as I have discussed it earlier in the Chapter, Baptism of Blood. He bewailed that it had been his fate for the last 5 or 6 years to have to conduct withdrawals and to mitigate defeats, engage on continuous hard work and continuous failures. Churchill characterised his retreat from the eastern front as the most ignoble and sordid. All this had filled him with pique and pessimism. The Quaid charged him with breach of faith of which he had really been guilty regarding the statement of May 16, 1946. He had no stability of mind and no strength of character. He kept on changing the composition of the

interim Govt. as to the representation which was to be given to the Congress, the Muslim League and the others. As the Quaid said he had changed it four times. It was a mis-fortune of the sub-continent as well as the Brittsh Government that such a man had been sent out to preside over the fate of the south Asia at such a critical juncture. Mr. E. P. Moon has tried to put a good face on his character by his commentaries and notes on his posthumously published journals. But I hardly think he has succeeded in his purpose. Wavell had himself said, borrowing the words of Sir Walter Scott that "without courage there cannot be truth ; and without truth there can be no virtue." But he showed a deplorable lack of adherence to this beautiful dictum. He had neither courage to stick to the truth nor the virtue which comes from it. He had become a prisoner of mendacious expediency which people caught in decadence are apt to become.

3. Mountbatten.

As regards Lord Mountbatten, he obviously was one of the most important figures on the Stage. His character and conduct equally signified the decay of the moral fibre in the British nation. It was a pity that at such a turning point in the history of the sub-continent, the British Viceroy showed himsels so impetuous and immature, so self-conceited and self-deluded, so pettish and petulant, so paranoic and megalomaniac. He had little judicial sense and less administrative impartiality. He was petted and pampered by the British aristcraocy and idolized by the mass media. He was servile and sub-servient in his attitude to the larger body, the Congress, and haughty and hectoring to the smaller one, the Muslim League. Wavell was right in calling him a "boy-champion". He was appointed to fiddle with the fortunes of the Muslim nation in the sub-continent and to tinker and trifle with truth. He was a film fan and a voracious reader of novels. He had little taste for serious pursuits of men. No history, no philosophy and no literature. Applying the criterion of Mathew Arnlod and Ruskin, who thought that taste was a moral quality and that a man was Judged from what he liked and disliked, Mountbatten was politically callow and

intellectually shallow and morally a tallow. Like Atticus, he presided over his little staff-cabal of little men where everybody was a pawn and puppet over whom he ruled like a dictator and he thought that he could also tyrannise over the Muslim India. He forgot the basic difference between his little cabal and the great Muslim League, that while one was a mummery of his staff officers, the other was a living body of men working under the inspiring leadership of a great democrat. His briefings, consultings, counsellings and recordings took the gloss and the glamour of a despotic court. He posed and behaved as if the pomp and the show of the viceregal office alone invested its occupant with glory and granduer and that the moral soul and the spiritual substance of the man were nothing and could be dispensed with or, whenever needed, could be had from the Gandhian Ashirbad (blessing). He tried to play the despot with the political leaders of India in the same way as he ruled the roost in his staff meetings. He cultivated and developed the cult of his own personality as if it was not the image and index of the soul but simply a magic wand which would do the trick with all manner of men. From the very beginning his petty mind and his prudential shrewdness had landed him in the pocket of the Congress.

If it is correct, as Wavell thought, that he was dismissed at the bidding of Nehru, then it must also be equally correct that Mountbatten was appointed in his stead at the behest of the same Nehru. After his departure from India, Wavell commented on the position of Mountbatten. He recorded on November 20, 1947, that "he (Mountbatten) had gone very much to the Congress side, as was inevitable in his position". He had the honour of hosting Nehru when the latter paid a visit to Singapore as a private citizen at the end of the War and, as Hodson took pains to write, Mountbatten lavished every courtesy on him thinking that he might in-deed become the first Prime Minister of Independent India and that it was of the highest importance not to antogonise him. So, with an uncanny sense of bureauciatic servility and opportunism, the Supreme Allied Commander reversed the earlier plan of giving Nehru a cold shoulder, which his staff had proposed, and receptions, get-togethers and

addresses were organized at which both Nehru and Mountbatten fraternised and sororised. Thereafter, when Moutnbatten was sent out to India, Nehru met him and asked him "if by some miracle he had obtained plenipotentiary powers". He told him yes, he had. Then said Nehru, "Why, then you will succeed where all others have faild". After that the crafty Barhman took time and found occasions to pay flattering tributes to him. As Campbell-Johnson has written, Nehru said to Mountbattenat the end of the first interview with him, "now I know what they mean when they speak of your charm being so dangerous". Before that the only too officious Viceroy, in a moment of emotional sororising, had said, "Mr. Nehru, I want you to regard me not as the last Viceroy winding up the British Raj but as the first to lead the way to a new India". Nehru had also astounded him by his suggestion about an Anglo-Indian union involving nothing less than comman citizen ship, in effect, a far closer union than the commonwealth status. The Mahatma, with all his pre-occupation with the spiritual faith & fetish, did not lag behind, rather he went even farther then Nehru and, in the fullness of his heart, proposed that Mountbatten should stay on indefinitely in the service of India, obviously meaning as Head of the Indian State. All these beaming blandishments and gleaming graces were being tried on one who had already placed himself at the disposal of the Congress. This might also had been his instruction and a part of his brief to India from the H.M.G. Mountbatten and Nehru became very chummy & started discussing Mr. Jinnah at the very first meeting. Nehru commented on success coming to him at a very late stage in life, on his being not specially a good lawyer, on his having a permanently negative attitude etc. Mountbatten obediently and obsequiously followed the lead of the Congress and consulted Nehru at every step. He showed him all his cards, took him into confidence about all his secret plans and policies. He went to the length of adjusting & modifing them to suit the pleasure of the Pandit. The list of his misdemeanours and mis-conducts is very heavy. I will point out a few of his steps showing his trickery and treachery, his betrayal of the trust of the Quaid, his abuse of his high office, his prejudice against the

Quaid & his predilection for the Congress and its leaders, especially Pandit Nehru. Thus, to use a Swiftian expression, Mountbatten and Nehru formed a lovely, loving pair. Nehru had feminine charm, as Hodson noted, while Mountbatten had masculine strength, so the famine charm of Nehru led the masculine Mountbatten to play hell and havoc with the rights of the Muslim India. Now I will note some of his major motifs.

4. Partition of Punjab & Bengal.

According to the original idea of partition, as contained in the Lahore Rsolution, it was clearly spelt out that the country will be divided in a way as to separate the contiguous Muslim majority areas from the Hindu majority areas in the north west and the north east of India, the Muslim majority provinces being kept in-tact with minor adjustments. But the Labour government in England was not in favour of partition at all. As Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister said in a T.V. interview on January 3, 1959, "We would have preffered a united India. We could not get it though we tried hard." so Mountbatten was instructed to brow-beat and black-mail the Quaid out of the idea of Pakistan. But since he stuck to it, Mountbatten adopted the strategy of trying fear and fright on him. He told the Quaid that if he insisted on partion of India, then he will ask for the partition of the two Muslim majority provinces, the Punjab and the Bengal. This was the most unkindes cut of all. It was calculated to reduce Pakistan to what the Quaid described as a "maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan". Mountbatten dwelt so constantly and so clamantly on it that, as he gleefully related, "he drove the old gentleman mad." Mountbetten was pleading the case of Congress, continuously kept harpingon this theme that the Quaid should prefer a larger Pakistan in a united India to a smaller Pakistan in an undivided India, conveniently ignoring the fact that there could not be an independent Pakistan in a united India. Thus he tried to frighten the Quaid into giving up his idea of Pakistan and partition.But the Quaid was made of sterner stuff and no amount of threats and thunders could intimidate him. As Mountbatten wrote in his personal report, he wanted toproceed according to the Cabinet Mission Plan which

visualized a united Centre in a united India. But he was afraid that if any attempt was made to impose it on the Muslim League, they will resort to arms to resist it. So taking the Congress fiat, he told the Quaid that partition of India shall also mean the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. On this principle Mountbatten prepared a partition plan.

5. A new plan prepared at Nehru's bidding.

The plan for the transfer of power which had been prepared by Mountbatten's staff in consultation with Nehru was sent to London with lord Ismay. The British Cabinet made some minor changes in it. It was approved on May 13, 1947, after which it was received by the viceroy in Simla. He wanted to show it to Pandat Nehro who was staying with him, on an absolute hunch, as he put it, against the advice of his staff who, as it seems, had a better sense of impartiality and who asked him not to do so over and above the head of the other party leaders. But mountbatten was bent upon establishing his credentials in the eyes of his future Prime Minister. So in a fit of loyalty, he sent the plan to him. Pandat Nehro had no sooner seen it than he exploded in all his wonted fire and fury and condemned the redraft in the most severe terms in a hurriedly writen note to the Viceroy. Mountbatten described Nehri's reaction as a "bomb-shell of the first order". In complete obedience to his Prime Minister, he atonce telegraphed to London saying that he was with-drawing that plan and that he will be sending a new one. Accoodingly, he sought out V. P. Menon who was having a conference with Nehru in his room and asked him to prepare a new plan. So the little Menon, the mouth-piece of patel, went into action and drew up a new plan after working continuously for 6 hours on it. It was in complete accord with the ideas of Patel and Nehru. Mountbatten felt very happy with it and told Gandhi Jee that it might well be called a Gandhiam Plan since all its salient points had been suggested by him, as Hodson recorded. Mountbatten took the plan and the draftman Menon, to London. This was not a plan of Mountbatten or of the H.M.G, it was rather Nehru-Menon plan. It was

approved by the British Cabinet and it was announced by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee on June 3, 1947, and ultimately it was put before the league and Congress for acceptance. I wonder at the extent of the hypocrisy of Mountbatten in seeking itsacceptance from the Congress which had itself drafted it. Can a father refuse to own and acknowledge his son ? Yes, I have an absolute hunch that timid and timorous fathers do not always acknowledge their illegitimate issues. And since the conception, and the begetting of the new plan was altogether illegitimate, its nominal father Mountbatten wanted its adoption by its real father, the Congress. All this shows what a sense of honesty and impartiality, honour and integrity, justice and fairplay Mountbatten had ! It requires the eye of a Cromwell to view it, the pen of a Carlyle to paint it and the Voice of a Burke to indict it.

3. The boundary commission and the Role of Radcliffe.

The Quaid had accepted the partition of the Punjab and Bangal as there was no escape from it and as it was woven into the plan of the transfer of power, mentioned above. Mountbatten had fully and clearly assured him that the demarcation of the boundary line will be made with strict honesty and not one inch of land with a Muslim Majority which was contigous to Muslim majority areas would be given to India. The name of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a judge of the British High Court, had been agreed upon as Chairman of the Boundary Commission, Four Muslim judges, Jusiice Muhammad Munir and Justice Din Muhammad for the West Pakistan and Justice S.A. Rehman and Justice Akram for East Pakistan had been appointed as members of the Commission At this stage I must give an account of the incident that drove awedge between the Vicery and the Quaid and which infuriated Mountbatten so much so that he vowed to destroy Pakistan, as Hodson has recorded. Mountbatten had set his heart on becoming the first Governor General of India as well as Pakistan. India was already committed to it as Mountbatten had fully and completely placed himself in their pocket, as mentioned earlier. He pressed the Quaid to accept him in the same capacity in Pakistan. This was not only un-reasonable, as un-natural but also a legal ano-

maly which, obviously, was calculated to fetter the sovereignty of Pakistan and reduce the substance of its freedom to a husk and a shadow.It was part of the Mountbatten—Congress conspiracy. The Quaid who had a deep itsight into the Hindu mind and the British motive, did not agree to it. At this, as Mountbatten recorded in his Personal Paper No. 11 on July 4, 1947, there was the following exchange between the two of them :

Mountbatten : Do you realise what this will cost you ?

Quaid-e-Azam : It may cost me several crores of rupees in assests.

Mountbatten : It may well cost you the whole of your assets and the future of Pakistan.

Mountbatten recorded that he said these words acidly and then got up and left the room. He tried, to borrow an expression from Carlyle, the eye of menace and the voice of command to brow-beat and bully the Quaid who was unknown to fear and who did not know what cringing and crouching meant. Mountbatten described this dialogue as a bomb- shall and could not forbear to show his wounded and hostile reaction.

The Viceroy sent report to the Secretary of State for India through Lord Ismay: In this report he said :

> "Unfortunately I fear that I have unintentionally led Nehru and all the Congress Leaders up the garden path and that they will never forgive me for allowing Jinnah once more to have his way. I, therefore, feel that that is a matter on which I require higher guidance and have considered it essential to send Ismay to seek it".

Lord Ismay met Atlee, Churchill and the king and they all advised him to accept Jinnah's point of view and stay as Governor General of India only.

Since Mountbatten was a vainglorious person and was full of pride and petulence, impetusity and impatience, this act of the

Quaid had deeply wounded his pride and he vowed to put a poisonous canker in the vitals of Pakistan and he did this through the Boundry Commission award. He prepared the ground for it. He got the British Parliament make an amendment in the Independence Bill whereby the report of the Chairman was to be regarded as the report of the Commission. This amendmendment rendered the members absolutly impotent and ineffective. Their opinion became altogether redundant. Mountbatten worked on the mind of Radcliffe and got him do what he wanted. Redcliffs completed and signed thereport on Agust 8, 1947 and handed it over to Mountbatten at Delhi. Mountbattan detainedit for 9 days and asked Redcliffe to modify it so that the Muslim majority areas of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Ferozpur, which were contiguous to the Muslim majority of Lahore Division, were handover to India thereby yielding up the gateway of Kashmir to her, alongwith the trans-Beas areas and the Ferozpur Headworks. This award was announced by Mountbatten on the 17th of August, 1947.

This entirely unjust award was throughly analysed and exposed by Justice Muhammad Munir, a Muslim Member of the Boundary Commission, in the article which he contributed to the Pakistan Times in 1964 wherein he said :

> "Gurdaspur District came up first. It was a Muslim majority area and, therefore, if a district was to be taken as a unit, the whole of it had to go to Pakistan. But if what Mountbatten had stated about this District in his Press Conference of June 4 was right and the District had to be partitioned, the Pathankot Tehsil could, as suggested by the Muslim League, be separated from it and joined with the contiguous non-Muslim area. Shakargarh was not only a Muslim majority area but also a physical entity, with the Ravi as its eastern boundary and could not conceivably be split up...The function of the Commissions was to separate the contiguous Muslim and non—Muslim majority areas and not to divide property or trade or business assets or to separate

the intellectually developed from backward areas. In fact, in the figures relied on by the non-Muslims, there lay the strongest argument for the partition of the country. Almost for a century the Muslims had been exploited by the non-muslims. The wealth of the non-Muslims in Lahore represented the sweat and labour of the Muslims and it was with a view to doing away with this inequitable position that the Musalman had demanded State where, undominated by the Hindu, he could improve his lot and enjoy a position of economic independence...After discussing some Tehsils of Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ambala Districts, I was about to place the case of Ferozpur and Zira and portions of the Fazilka and Mukhtasar Tehsils of the Ferozpur District when I received a pleasant surprise. Here atleast Sir Cyril was agreeing with me. He distinctly told me these areas, which included Ferozpur Headworks, would go to Pakistan and that I need not say anything more about them. As if I did not know this, he gave mafull description of these areas mentioning the "Clffs" on one side of the low-lying land and the canals that takeoff from the Ferozpur Headworks on the other. On this part of the case, at least, I thought, we had succeeded and communicated my impression to Mamdot, who owned a vast estate in this tract. The Muslim League had claimed the District of Amritsar and in my report I had supported that claim. In the course of my interview with the Chairman, however I had mooted, with the Muslim League's consent, the proposal of making the city of Amritsar, the Mecca of the Sikhs, a Sikh enclave by connecting it with some trans-Beas areas...The award was announced over the radio an August 17, With the exception of a part of Shakargarh Tehsil, the whole of the Gurdaspur District went to India. So did the whole of the Amritsar District

and all the trans-Beas and trans Sutlej majority areas, including Feroxpur, Zira, Mukhtasar and Fazilka tehsil...When I read the text of the Award I was stunned ...A two-page document and a line on a map, drawn as the fancy of the drawer dictated, had divided the fourth largest country in the world. No reasons, except one to which I shall presently refer, were given and no seference was made to the arguments and contentions raised. Here was an instance of a British lawyer trained in traditions of British justice, the very principle of which is thata party should know whya matter has been decided against him ! If the award was judicial it lacked every attribute of ajudical decision. And if it was political, why lay claims to justice, fairness and impartiality ? Why not say that India belonged to the British and their Viceroy gave it to whomsoever he liked ? ... There is conclusive evidence that the Punjab Award had been finalised on the 8th of August...It is, however, agreed that the very evening the contents of the Punjab Award, in so far as they were necessary for Sir Even Jenkins's information, were communicated to to him over the telephone and that the information so supplied was reduced to writing...According to that information, the Tehsil of Ferozpur and Zira came to Pakistan And this is precisely what Sir Cyrilmentioned to me when I interviewed him, How is it then that these Tehsils went to India in the Award announced on the 17th of August ?. The only explanation possible is that Sir Cyril altered the Award some time between the 8th and 17th of August, When he was in new Delhi. It is also clear that he of h is own accord would not make the alteration as he must have known that the original Award had been communicated to Sir Evan Jenkins and no fresh arguments had been addressed to him after the 8th to persuade him to alter

> his decision. The irresistible inference, there fore, is that he must have been prevailedupon by Lord Mountbatten to make the desired alteration ... Take now the Gurdaspur District. Was it not a Muslim majority area ?...What were the compelling factors to partition Shakargarh a Muslim majority Tehsil ? Further, if Shakargarh had to be partioned why not adopt as basis the major physical feature, the Ravi, but choose as the boundary line neither the river nor its main tributary (Ujh river) but the western branch of this stream where it enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir ? Was Gurdaspur intended to be sacrificed suitably to a desire to connect India with Kashmir ?

Similarly, as Justice S. A. Rehman, the Muslim member for East Pakistan, said, "the Muslim majority areas of Karimganj and Badarpur were given to India...To say the least, this was the most surprising and unfair decision."

Hodson, who had tried to put a good face on the bunglings of Mountbatten by giving futile and fatuous explanations, justifications, and rationalisations, exonerated him and Radcliffe of all their malafides and malfeasance. But the glittering veil put on it by Hodson is so transparent that the hideous face of the monster under it is clearly visible. Hodson, however, admitted two pieces of evidence which, to my mind, clearly and conclusively convict both Mountbatten and Radcliffe of high misdemeanour and misconduct. These are as follows :—

(a) Mr. Abbott, the Private Secretary to the Governor of the Punjab, asked Sir George Abel, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, to send a copy of the Punjab award and the map in advance so that the Governor was able to make administrative arrangements and disposition of officials. Accordingly, On August 8, 1947, the Private Secretary to the Voiceroy sent a map alongwith a letter written by Christopher Beaumont,

Private Secretary to Radcliffe, explaining the Award. According to this map, Tehsils Ferozpure, and Fazilka came to Pakistan. After the transfer of power the Governor of the Punjab, handed over the map and the letter to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Now Hodson, who felt himself bound to Mountbatten in his slavish loyalty and servile spirit, took pains to explain away these documents saying that it was merely an exchange of information at Private Secretary level only and that Mountbatten knew his Private Secretory's letter. It was simply an act of dare-devilry and brazenness on the part Mountbatten and Radcliffe to change the award knowing that it had already been communicated to the Governor of the Punjab by their Private Secretaries. This further shows how blind Mountbatten had become under his ire and anger against the Quaid and how subservient he was to the Congress in his prudential devotion to it. This was nothing less than a sell out.

(b) Hodson also admitted that on Radcliffe's arrival at Delhi, Mountbatten "did make the point to him that the fairness of the eastern and western Awards to the Muslims and the non-muslims respectively should be judged as a whole so that dis-gruntlement in one area might be off-set by satisfaction in another. This principle of balance could conceivably have been so interpreted as to compensate, say, some concessions to the Sikhs in the Punjab Canal Colonies by some concessons to the Muslims in Asam-Sylhet." This again shows the crooked conduct of Mountbatten in influencing the judgment of the soul-less and heartless Radcliffe and the feckless effort of Hodson in rationalising it all.

Mountbatten postponed the announcement of the Award to August 17, on purpose so that he was not confronted with his villainy by the Quaid-e-Azam on the 14th of August, at Karachi where he had to go to take part in the Independency Day celebrations. He knew how free and fearless the Quaid was and how intensely he disliked unclean and dishonest people. This apprehension led him to put off the date of

announcement from 9th of August, to the 17th. His guilty conscience was nagging him to put up safe-guards. But history does not care for any safeguards and it will proclaim his shame and disgrace till eternity. He not only caused a grave injury to a nation, but also damaged his own soul and, I am sure, he must be caught in the throes of a guilty conscience and the furies must be tearing and tormenting him now when he is on the brink of death. He seems to have already lost his balance of mind as it appears from his vanity which led him to ask India to send a large contingent of Army personnel representing all the units and regiments of India to join in the funeral parade after his death ! If he dies unrepentent, he shall not find a helper or intercessor in the great Christian Redeemer on the day of judgment.

Quaid-e-Azam commenting on the Award of the Boundary Commission in his speach on October 13, 1947, said as follows :—

> "No doubt we feel that the carving out of this great Muslim State has sufferred injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award."

But the Quaid did not reject it as he/was superior to the enemies of Pakistan and had a higher sense of individual and national honour. So he said :—

> "It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial but a political Award. But we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. An honourable people must abide by it. It may be our misfortune, but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope. Let us now plan to build, reconstruct and regenerate our great nation."

Both Mountbatten and Radcliffe disgraced and dishonoured themselves and their nation, one as the Chief Executive of undivided India by his perfidious conspiracy with the Congress and the other as a British judge by obsequiously surrendering his judgment and

conscience to the directives and the dictates of the Viceroy under some dishonest motive. A heatless and faithless member of a nation caught in the clutches of decadence was capable of stooping to anything, to a crumb from the Congress table or to a coin from the purse of the Birlas and the Dalmias. Wavell wrote about the Muslims, "I am sorry for the Muslims. They have more honesty, courage and dignity than the Hindus, but cannot stand up to the power of the rupee." If the Congress tried the power of the rupee on the Muslims, it is possible that they did not with-hold it from the British who, as the notorious cases of Clive and Hastings show, were hell-bent on amassing wealth by hook or by crook, and who, on return to their little isle, were going to lose themselves and lapse into the obscurity and insignificance of little men if they had not made a fortune in the sub-continent. After all one does not sell one's conscience to the devil for nothing.

7. **Kashmir question and Mountbatten.**

The role played by Mountbatten in securing Kashmir to India is the blackest of all his black deeds. He did this with the clear intention to enable India to turn us into a desert by cutting off the supplies of water as all our rivers came from Kashmir. India was not slow in resorting to this in-human strategy. Radcliffe had Awarded the controlling points of the rivers Ravi and Sutlej to India. So India closed up our canals in the winter of 1947 and subjected Lahore and Sahiwal Districts, to serious drought and dearth. Damming up the rivers was a long term plan of the enemy on which she has been, slowly and silently, yet steadily, working. Kashmir was the head and the backbone of Pakistan. In a bid to throttle Pakistan, Mountbatten rushed to Kashmir with the might of a Viceroy and forced the Maharaja to accede to India. According the principle of partition, the Muslim majority areas had to come to Pakistan. Kashmir had a 90% muslim population. It was closely and integrally linked with Pakistan. It had cultural, economic, historical and geographical ties with us. Every body thought that Kashmir would naturally form a part of Pakistan. But British force, Hindu fraud and Sheikh Abdullah's faithlessness combined to rob Pakistan of her natural claim to Kashmir. The Maharaja was inclined towards Pakistan for

various reasons. He had earlier stopped the entry of Pandit Nehru into Kashmir, but Mountbatten, who combined vulpined tricks with assinine tactics, came sneaking in and changed the scene. He coerced the Mahataja into signing the instrument of accession in favour of India and then landed Indian forces through his air operation in Srinagar and took the lovely Muslim valley of Kashmir and made a gift of it to India. When the Quaid ordered the Pakistan Commander in Chief, General Gracey, to move the Pakistan forces into Kashmir, he refused and sought advice from the Supreme Commander based in India, Field Marshal Auchinleck, who under the direction of Mountbatten, threatend to withdraw all British Military and Civil Officers from Pakistan if the Quaid insisted on taking action in Kashmir ! Thus Mountbatten completely frustrated the efforts of Pakistan and paralysed her power to take counter measure. This was the British sense of loyalty, discipline and honour to a country in whose service Gracey and co. had willingly placed themselves.

I will not go into the subsequent history of the Kashmir case. It is simply a story of broken bonds and perfidious pledges on the part of India and Britain and a tale of abject helplessness and utter failure on the part of United Nations.

Similarly, Mountbatten played his partisan and perfidious role in getting the accession of some other states, especially Bikanair whose ruler had made up his mind to join Pakistan. He had forced him to submit to his threats of deposition from above and political agitation from below. As Cambell Jhonson wrote, the Maharaja of Bikanair was going to accede to Pakistan but the little sneak of a Menon who had made a nuisance of himself by his minacious poses and peacocky struts, kept him from it through his pantopragmatic interference Likewise, Mountbatten played his part in the fall of Hyderabad.

8. Division of Assets and stores.

In the matter of the division of assets and stores, Mountbatten signally failed to get the share of Pakistan to her. India even refused to honour its commitments arising from the partition of the contry. She denied Pakistan her share of the cash balances, the arms and the stores. Pakistan's share of the cash in the Reserve Bank of India

amounted to more than seventy five crores of rupees. India wanted to grab everything. Ultimately when Gandhi Jee threatened to go on a fast unto death, the Govt. of India reluctantly released the money. As for the other assets, India kept dallying with it. I will quote from what the Supreme Commander Auchinleck wrote in his report to British Govt. on September 28, 1947, to show the Indian attitude about the division of the Arms, the stores and the equipments. He said :—

> "I have no hesitation what ever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of Pakistan on a firm basis. The Indian leaders, Cabinet Ministers Civil Officials and others have persistently tried to obstruct the work of partitioning of the Arms Forces. I and my Officers have been continuously and virulently accused of being pro-Pakistan, and partial, whereas the truth is that we have merely tried to do our duty...It is becoming increasingly impossible for myself and my officers to continue with our task. If we are removed there is no hope at all of any just division or assets in the shape of movable stores, belonging to the former Indian Army...Pakistan has practically nothing of her own and must obtain most of what she wants from the reserves of stores etc. now lying in India."

Mountbatten rushed in saying to Auchinleck "one of the most balanced and level-headed of the Indian Ministers complained recently that you seemed to regard yourself as the champion of Pakistan's interest...". He asked Auchinleck to wind up the Supreme Headquarters so that Pakistan should not get anything. The Bristish Officers were strongly opposed to the division of the Arm forces and its assets and one of them, general Lord Ismay had termed it as the "bigest crime and the biggest headache."

Similarly, in the case of the 19 Ordnance Factories situated in India, Pakistan got nothing. There were six Printing Presses under the Central Government and Mountbatten requested the Indian

Govt. that atleast one may be given to Pakistan, but Patel replied "No, not even one." There were numerous Presses in Bengal, Bombay and other places in India under the control of the Central or the Provincial Governments but the Government of East Pakistan was given nothing. This was the result of the British and Congress combine. The Hindus had lost all sense of justice and their hostil'ty and hatred for Pakistan had totally blinded them to the right of the Muslim Pakistan. They and their moralising master, Nehru, made big claims to moral and spiritual commitments and tried to crow over every body and every country in the international field, but, in practice, he was the most tricky and treacherous.

9. Stopping Muslim League from forming Government in Punjab.

As a result of the elections of 1946, Muslim League had emerged as the largest single party winning 79 seats in the Punjab. The unionists had secured only 10 seats but the British bureaucracy was bent upon frustrating the Muslim league in its natural desire to form a Ministry. As the journals of Wavell clearly show, the Viceroy and the Governor in the Punjab had been blind to all democratic ideas and were trying to set up the Unionist party in the saddle. I have already quoted from Wavell to show how he kept on bucking up Khizar Hayat the leader of the Unionist Party, against the Quaid and the Muslim league in defiance of the normal democratic rules. The Governor ultimately succeeded in bringing about a coalition between the Hindus, the sikhs and the Unionist party with the sole purpose of keeping the Muslim Leauge out. But since the Muslim masses were with the Muslim League, the Punjab Government resorted to high handed tactics to crush the popular upsurge of feeling against the Unionist fraud. A ban on speech and expression was placed and a large number of Muslim league workers and leaders had been clamped into the Jail. It was the clear duty of Sir Evan Jenkins the Governor, to invite the Muslim league Assembly party to form a Govt. but Mountbatten, who succeeded Wavell not only to his office but also to his plan and policy towards the Punjab, did everything in his power to prevent Muslim league from taking office. As it has been written by Hodson, when the Quaid asked Mountbatten

about it, he replied that he did not want a communal Govt. in the Punjab as the Hindus and Sikhs will not like it. This was his democratic sense. In fact he was working at the behest of, and in league with, the Congress who in concert with the akali party of the Sikhs had prepared a plan to baptise the Punjab with Muslim blood and that is why they did not want the Muslim league to come into power. Mountbatten imposed section 93 in the Punjab and asked the Governor to take over the Punjab administration inviolation of all the democratic principles. This had obviously been done with a view to clearing the way for the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha to arm and organize themselves in a bid to cripple and crush the Mussalmans. The Muslim league Ministry could not have allowed this sinister plan of theirs to come to full fruition as it did.

10. Refusal to haul up the Sikhs.

Mountbatten fully knew the bitter opposition of the Sikhs to Pakistan. They were a small yet strong and virile people whose fancy was a-glow with their past glory and who saw an opportunity in the chaos and confusion that followed the June 3 declaration and fully armed and organized themselves to extirpate the Muslims in the Punjab alongwith their leaders and also to blow up the great irrigation system in the western part of the Province. This design of Sikhs had been brought to the notice of Mountbatten but still he refused to take any action against them. As Hodson recorded ;—

> "On 5th of August the Governor of the Punjab sent Mr. Savage, an officer of the C.I.D., to see the Viceroy personally and urgently. Lord Mountbatten was called out of the partition council meeting and having heard the report and returned to the Council which was about to adjourn, kept back Mr. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Patel to whom the officer repeated his report. Statements made by men arrested at the demonstrations had incriminated, among others, Master Tarasingh, in the production of Bombs, and in Sikh plans to attack certain canal Headworks, to wreck trains carrying Pakistani officials from Delhi to Karachi and to assassinate

> Mr. Jinnah by throwing a Bomb into the open car that he was expected to use for his state drive during the Independence celebrations on the 14th of August. Mr. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan immediately demanded the arrest of the Sikh leaders. Sardar Patel was against it."

Mountbatten refuse to arrest the Sikh leaders and let their preparations proceed apace which ultimately resulted in the most atrocious massacre of the Muslims in the East Punjab. It clearly shows the complicity of Mountbatten in the Sikh plans and plots which had opened hell-gates on the Muslim men, women and children. The lily-livered Lalas and the chicken-hearted Hindus had used the Sikhs against the Muslims since they themselves had the guns but not the guts, as the Quaid said. I believe Mountbatten was fully to blame for the extreme cruelty and inhumanity of the Sikhs.

11. Forcing Sir Olaf Caroe's resignation.

It is very interesting and instructive to note the various steps that Mountbatten took in various ways at various places to please the Congress. He showed complete disregard for truth in his pursuit of Congress pleasure. Sir Olaf Caroe was Governor of N.W.F.P. where a Congress Govt. was in saddle. The call of the Quaid and the appeal in the name of Islam was irresistible to the free and fearless, the brave and benevolent, the just and the generous Pathans who had taken to Muslim League and given a cold-shoulder to the Congress. But the obtuse-minded and the dim-sighted Khan brothers (Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan) in their traitorous treachery had been so much blinded to the cause of the Muslims and grown so insane in their loyalty to the Congress that they refused to see the revolutionary change that had come in the ideas and attitudes of the Muslim masses. In a bid to turn the tide of Muslim feeling, they imposed severe curbs on civil liberties, gagged the press, banned the processions and the public meetings and put 5000 muslim league workers and leaders behind the bar. Nehru came to boost up their morale and was received with stone-pelting and black flags. He also suffered minor injuries. The Khan Brothers felt humbled and

humiliated. Yet they failed to see the facts and refused to accept the verdict of the people. Since their mentor and master, Nehru, had been insulted, they were furious. But theirs was the fury of an impotent man who, instead of quarrelling with himself quarels with the world. They charged the Governor and his officers with pro-Muslim league bias and said that they were running the Muslim League show in the Province. Mountbatten, probably at the instance of the Congress, also came and the people showed him the depth of their feeling by marching in a huge body to the gates of the Government House. He met the leaders of the various parties and talked to them and took stock of the situation. People were demanding dismissal of the Congress Government which had completely forfeited their confidence while the Khan Brothers were asking for the head of the Governor in the same way as salome had asked for the head of John the Baptist. Mountbatten was convinced of the competency, the honesty and the impartiality of the Governor. He also was sure of his sense of duty and honour yet, since Congress was ranged against him and he had vowed to serve the Congress like a slave, he decided that Caroe must go. So he told him that "in view of the incessant allegations against him, not withstanding the high opinion of the Viceroy of his capacity, integrity and selfless devotion to duty under an immense strain, the time had come when he must replace him." So Caroe was sent away on forced leave till the referundum in the Province was over. General Lock-Hart took over in his place. And what was the result of the referundum? An overwhelming majority of the Muslims of N.W.F.P numbering 289244 had voted for Pakistan while only 2874 cast their votes against it. This fully exposed the popularity of the Khan Brothers who had claimed, in the name of Congress and Gandhi, that they would win a land-slide victory. They had been totally trounced and after the establishment of Pakistan the Quaid was absolutely right in dismissing the bunk of their ministry. To come back to the story of Caroe, his enemies Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Nehru subsequently acknowledged his impartiality and ability, as Hodson wrote. Dr. Khan Sahib as Chief Minister of One Unit invited him to stay as State Guest for three months with him to collect material for his

book on the Pathuns while Ghaffar Khan stayed at his house in Sussex. His sons and daughters still visit his house. Nehru invited Caroe to coordinate the work of Tibetan refugees in India. Thus it was proved that these devotees of truh and love for humanity had raised all that row, breathing fire and fury, only to dislodge an honest and impartial man from N.W.F.P. since he had refused to serve as their tool in launching a campaign of persecution against the Muslim league. This shows their quality and calibre, This also shows what a miserable lot they were and to what extent they had divorced their politics of all principles of morality and ethics. And these piggling people were claiming to face up to the Quaid who never stooped to even a single dishonourable word and deed and remained true and loyal to his moral nature throughout the entire gamut of his political career. Mountbatten supported this pack of people presumably because he felt they were a kindred spirit.

12. Advancing date of transfer of power.

Mountbatten was supposed to carry out the policy and programme laid down by H.M.G. who had fixed June 3, 1948, as the date of the transfer of power to the two dominions of India and Pakistan. But Mountbatten went to cabal with the Congress who advised him to rush through it in a stampede so that Pakistan, oppressed under the burden of its problems, was ruined at its birth. I have already listed these numerous back-breaking problems in the Chapter on A Muslim humanist. As a new state had been willed into existance from nothing, Pakistan was faced with many natural and unnatural problems. The Congress and Mountbatten had calculated that Pakistan will not be able to stand the shattering effect of all these problems in such a short time i.e. 72 days (from June 3 to August 14), that Pakistan will make a request to be re-amalgamated with India and then they will march into Pakistan in triumph. With this devilish design, Mountbatten had advanced the date of transfer of power by about 10 months. They wanted to nip the new country in the bud. But God willed otherwise and Mountbatten and his new masters, the Congre-s, faild in the.r faithless attempts at wrecking and runing Pak stan. Instead, this prove l a blessing in disguise. The Quaid was

already on the last leg of his life and he did not have many days to live. His lung disease was eating into his vitals apace and if there was an inordinate delay in the dawn of independence and if it was held up, then there would have been no Pakistan because there was no man of that determination in the Muslim league to stand up to the combined conspiracy of the British and the Congress.

13. Propaganda by Campbell-Johnson.

Mountbatten believed in the force of propaganda more than in the force of truth. To me he appears as a man who had no respect for the truth at all. He was bent upon proving that man's main prop was propaganda and that no amount of truth could avail him anything against it. With this view he had brought his personal staff including a propaganda Secretary designated as Press Attache. His name was Campbell-Johnson. He was incharge of the battery of Press reporters, Press photographers etc. who kept waiting for a nod from the boss to go on the rampage to calumniate clumsily anybody who happend to have fallen from favour. From his book Mission with Mountbatten', he appears to be a man with little mind and less soul, slave to a slave in as-much-as Mountbatten was a slave to the Congress and he was a slave to Mountbatten. He was ready to tear into pieces any man at whom Mountbatten raised his little finger, intent on twisting the facts in the Procrustean manner to suit his petty purpose, inventing things where there was nothing. He was anxious to hold up the man who had fallen from grace with his boss to ridicule and raillery of the world, much like a mysian prey. Since Mountbatten had formed a united front with Congress against the Quaid who, in the sublimity of his soul, preferred to walk alone, this man lost no time in discerning that the Quaid was not in the good books of his boss. So he turned his battery against him. He was hell-bent on inventing some thing if nothing was available, to give to the Press to malign and revile the Quaid. But Quaid was a man of immaculate character and conduct. He was incorrupt and incorruptible. He had no weakness for office or acclaim, money or might. He was not vulnerable in any way, from any angle. He had no A chilles heel, had

never tripped in speech or action to give a handle to anyone against himself, had a fine sense of humour and satire, was extremely percipient and nothing escaped his eye, was a master of retort and riposte and had left some of the great figures on the bench and the bar, in the hall and the bower, smarting under the cuts and thrusts of his rapier-like tongue. Faced with such a man, the poor piggling Press Attachee was at his wits end. He did not know what to do to please his boss. Ultimately, he hit upon a plan of concoction. The Quaid was coming to Mountbatten's off and on for talks Photographers were always there in position. In some photos with the Mountbatten's, he was on one side, in others he was on the other side or in the middle. During one of such scenes while the Quaid was on one side and Mountbatten on the other of Lady Mountbatten who happened to be in the middle, the Quaid's risibilities were tickled and, by way of gallantry, he remarked that she was a rose between two thorns. The impish spirit of the Press Attachee settled on it. He hunted out a photograph in which the Quaid was in the middle while the Mountbatten's stood on either side of him and wrote under it" A rose between two thorns, said Jinnah" and put it in his book with the singulary sinister intention of showing to the world that the Quaid had no sense of situation, that he suffered from amnesia, that he was awkward in his gallantry and that he was a parrot repeating a borrowed phrase without knowing what he was saying. This was really a ridiculous device which instead of exposing the Quaid exposed its author showing him up as a man of mean and malicious nature.

Similary, the Press Attachee picked up a doodle from somewhere or scrawled one himself and gave out that he had found it from the table of the Quaid-e-Azam after the momentous meeting at which the Nehru-Menon plan had been accepted by the leaders of the League and Congress, and reproduced it in his book with his comment "A doodle by Mr. Jinnah extracted from his sub-conscious at the moment of his greatest political victory. I am no psychologist but I think I can detect the symbols of power and glory here" This again is nothing but a concoction and a figment of the Press Attaches imagination. There is no knowing how he connected it with the Quaid and

how he found symbols of power and glory in this bundle of scratches and scrawls which he has put in his book as a doodle drawn by the Quaid. This is another attempt at painting the Quaid as a power-hungry man who was after his own glory which is absolutely false and mendacious. He never wanted power and glory for himself. It was for the Muslim nation. In was in refutation of such an allegation that the Quaid had once said that he "had no self pride and that he had no such ambition". Men with a shrunken mind and shrivelled soul cannot conceive of a man with a simple and sincere mind, a lofty purpose and a sublime soul. I wonder why the Press Attachee never felt any impulse of admiration for a man who had devoted himsef, body and soul, to his nation and who had waged a selfless and sincere war against heaviest odds, to save the soul and culture of a hundred million people and did everything just and fair to establish them in their dignity, honour and independence. Was it not a glorious struggle? Was this object not a noble one? Was it not an ideal worth fighting for and dying for? Did not the Quaid stake his life and health on it? But how can a slave feel anything like this? A double slave that he was, he could not see anything. It required a better, a higher breed of men to admire such a spirit. England, caught in the coils of decadence, had ceased to produce men of great soul and sensibility. It could produce only Mountbattens and Radcliffes and parasites like Campbell-Johnson.

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A Muslim Humanist

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a great Muslim humanist. I have added the word Muslim to bring out the full significance of his humanism which was informed and animated by the great ideals of Islam. The leading roles in the great darama, enacted in the sub-continant, were played by the three forces, the English, the Muslim and the Hindu. The English believed in christian humanism, the Muslim in the Islamic humanism and the Hindus in the Vedic humanism. Inspite of a good measure of common ground between the first two, there was, as still there is, a marked difference between their respective view of humanism. The Christain and the Muslim humanism consists in love of God, Love of man and the concept of human equality and brotherhood. But there is a basic difference in their attitude towards evil, which is destructive of the quality of humanism. According to the pristine dictates of the great Christian Exemplar, the Christian suffers and sacrifices in silence, in resignation, without a protest, without a fight. The Christian dictum is "Ye resist not evil; but who soever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also". This is submission, a sublime submission. But in practical life, submission to your tormentor means surrender to injustice and tyranny. That is why this virtue is no longer practised even in the Christian West. But as a Christian Concept and as a human ideal, it

is still held in high honour. Returing good for evil was also a Socratic concept which Socrates preached to his large body of pupils in Athens. The Muslim injunction in this connection is laid down in Surah Sajda as follows :—

> "Good and evil cannot be at par. O Prophet, return ye good for evil so that thy enemy becomes thy bosom friend."

But the Islamic concept also takes in view the practical situation. Good cannot be returned for evil from the position of weakness, Submission and subjection. If the weak and the servile practise this virtue, it will make absolutely no impression on the strong and the unjust because he will simply dismiss it as a slavish gesture and as an attempt at making a virtue of necessity. So Islam is totally against submission to iniquity and injustice. There can be no compromise with evil at any level and in any way, conceptual or practical. A Muslim is enjoined not to surrender to evil but to stand up and fight against it. He is a crusader, a fighter, in the way of Allah, for the values and ideals of Allah. He must re-establish the rule of good and demolish the supremacy of evil. The very basis of a good life in Islam starts with the maintenance of the right and the destruction of the wrong. A Muslim is called upon to do justice to all manner of men, regardless of caste and creet, race and region, colour and community, age and sex and irrespective of the fact whether they are ally or alien, friend or foe. The Muslim must wage a prepetual battle for restoring the primacy of the right, the good and the virtuous. This is his basic human responsibility. As for the Vedic idea of humanism, it never went beyond caste and colour and cow, it was for the safety of the last mentioned animal that Gandhi Ji even showed his readiness to engage the Muslims and the Christians in a ceaseless war, regarding this animal as superior to the men of other faiths, as I have already stated in the Chapter on the Cultural conflict, dealing with Hindu culture.

The Quaid stood up to save the soul and the culture of Islam in the sub-continent. He was a crusader for justice, a fighter for honour, a champion for the rights of his people and a saviour of his nation.

He took it as a duty, as a mission and gave his whole life-body, mind and soul—to this cause which by all means and by any standard, was a worthy cause and a noble mission. He found the Muslims of India in a wrecked and ruined condition, politically, economically, culturally and morally. They had fallen from their high place and gone plumb down to the nadir of misery. The swing of the pendulum in their case was full and complete. They had ruled the sub continent for a thousand years with gread glory and grandeur, great justice and generosity, but ultimately their moral and intellectual powers decayed and a process of de-generation set in. They lost every sense of unity, centrality, purpose and direction. Their robust dynamism lapsed into a static inertia. They no longer knew where they stood, what forces were arrayed against them and how they were conspiring to close in upon them. They were simply out of step with the times. They failed to see and appreciate the new spirit, the new life, the new forces that appeared on the scene with the advent of the western powers who were strong, buoyant and dynamic and who knew that the muslim power was rotting and crumbling and that it only needed a push to send it crashing down. The Hindus read the signs on the horizon, cooperated with the new forces and the new powers. So the Muslims were routed but not without putting up a magnificent fight in one or two places, in the south by Haider Ali and his illustrious son Tippu Sultan. in the east by Siraj-uddaula and in the north much later in the day, by Bakht Khan. The political rout brought about an ambient decadence in all sphere of Muslim life, moral, mental, economic and cultural. The British saw to it that it should be complete in every respect. They were hurled down from all positions in the Army, the police, the revenue, the judiciary and the other branches of administration. In fact, it was a clean sweep. No trace of any high Muslim functionary was left anywhere. The British held the supreme power. They did not brook a rival and they took scrupulous care to extirpate the hitherto ruling race in all its entirety. They drove them not only from all the offices of the State but also gave their lands to the Hindus in the name of the permanent Settlement in the East. Then they went ahead to add insult to the injury and, in a bid to fully and completely humiliate and disgrace them, they declared

that the Muslims need not apply for any posts except those meant for the menials like porters, messengers, fillers of Ink-pot and menders of pens, as Hunter said. They were reduced to the fate of the hewers of wood and the draws of water, after the failure of their heroic attempt at the recovery of their lost power in 1857. After that a reign of terror was let loose upon them. There was a tremendous outburst of hatred against the Mujahids and the British Armies mowed and massacred the muslims like grass. There were proscriptions, confiscations incarcerations and courts marshal in consequence of which sentences of death were executed with mango trees serving as jibbets and elephants as drops, as Kaye and Malleson recorded. Thus the Muslims found themselves in the wilderness. A lull, a mist, an apathy and inertia settled down on their mind and spirit. They kept away and aloof, grovelling in their misery and mis-fortune. The Hindus, on the other hand, reaped the rich harvest of pay and profit for their collusion and conspiracy with the British against the Muslim power, as portrayed by Bunkam Chandra Chatter Ji in his novels. A vast horizon of cooperation and collaboration with the new power had opened up to them and they took it by the fore-lock, lapped up all the beneficence, made the best of it, acquired the new knowledge and the new technique, the new language and literature, manned all the lower and the middling offices of state, mastered their tricks and tactics, organized themselves and started dreaming of, and planning for, the crowing attempt at seizing the supreme power.

The Muslims sat up from their long slumber at the call of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who told them how fallen, how changed they were and gave them the first glimmer of a national feeling and asked them to rise and acquire the new education, to cooperate with the new rulers, to shed off their apathy and indifference and accept the fact of the situation as they were and think of their survivle under a pattern of Govt. which vested all political powers in the majority and reduced the miniority to abject servitude. His colleague Maulana Hali took up the call of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and explained his message to the people. He said.

سنبھلو وگرنہ رہنا یاں اس طرح پڑے گا

گونڈ اور بھیل جیسے گمنام و بے نشاں ہیں

The Quaid said the same thing at the Frontier Muslim League Conference :—

> "If you fail to realize your duty today, you will be reduced to the status of Shudras and Islam will be vanquished from India".

The Muslims heard his call, stood up, moved forward and fell, some in the lap of the British Bureaucracy and some in the pocket of the Congress. In both cases there was nothing but disgrace, dependence and dismay in store for them. Speaking of the Muslim condition at Delhion Dec. 25, 1942, the Quaid painted the following picture, employing the image of a ship, and said :—

> "The position of the Muslim India during the last 200 years has been that of a Ship without a rudder and without a Captain, floating on the high seas full of rocks. For 200 years it remained floating, damaged, disorganized demoralized, still floating. In 1936, with the cooperation of many others, we salvaged the ship. Today the ship has a wonderful rudder, and a Captain willing to serve and always to serve. Its engines are in perfect working order and it has got its loyal, crew and offlcers. In the course of the last 5 years it has turned into a battle-ship."

Earlier while addressing the Muslim at Alligarh, in 1938, the Quaid has said about the Muslims condition as follows :—

> "The Mussalmans were like dwellers in noman's land. They were led either by the flunkeys of the British Govt. or the camp flowers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organize the Muslims, the toadies and the flunkeys on the one hand and the trators in the Congress Camp on the other, frustrated the efforts."

The Muslims at that time had no sense of honour and self-respect, personal or national. Self-interest was their controlling and commanding passion. They had no idea that nations had been brought to ruin by a too much pre-occupation with selfishness as Hume, in his

bitter yet true comment, said :—

> "Let there be no complaining of Englishman being preferred to you. If you lack the public spirit, that highest form of altuistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to public weal, that patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are, then rightly are they preferred to you, rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. And rulers and task-masters they must continue, let the yoke gall your shoulders ever so sorely, untill you realize and stand prepared to act upon the oternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness."

Lack of individual and collective sense of self-respect degrades men into slaves and serfs. We had a plenteous crop of such fellows. I will name a few from the life of the Quaid-e-Azam, like Sardar Muhammad Nawaz, Sir Khizar Hayat, Sir Muhammad Usman, Nawab Chhatari, Sir Sultan Ahmad, Sir Akbar Hydari etc. who were the peculiar specimens of this type. Speaking in the legislative council, the Quaid pointed out this characteristic of Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan, placed him in the party of the petitioners and said that he belonged to that School which said to the Govt.

> "Whatever you do is right. Let me have something, please. Whatever you may ultimately decide, I am your man, I can do nothing else."

I have already shown this quality in the character of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan in an earlier Chapter. As for Sir Muhammad Usman, Wavell has brought out his flunkeyism by telling us what he, as a member of Viceroy's Executive Council, said to him. He recorded :—

> "Muhommad Usman said that God never meant India to be independent. Dislikes the whole idea of change and entirely disapproves the new order. Views which even a hardened tory would regard as reactionary. He is a die-hard imperialist."

I have also given the typical qualities of Sir Akbar Hydari in the Chapter on Bureaucracy and Democracy which showed what a slave he was. Similarly, Sir Sultan Ahmad used to go to Wavell and "inveigh against Jinnah's bad manners and the absurdity of his claim to represent all Muslims." Nawab of Chhatari, as Wavell recorded, considered Jinnah's arrogant manners atrocious. He made deep professions of loyalty to the British and was sad at their departure. So these were the Mussalmans who rushed into the lap of the British Bureaucracy, foigetting all personal self-respect and national honour, completely putting themselves at the beck and call of the foreigner. This was the view and the assessment of their character given by their patron-saint, their lord and master, who secretly contemned their slavish mind and soul. They had no scruples to malign and misrepresent the character of their national leader to please the Britsh Bureaucrat. As for those who had placed themselves at the disposal of the Congress, they were Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib in the N. W. F. P. ; Sir Khizar Hayat, Dr. Ashraf etc. in the Punjab ; Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh and G.M. Syed in the Sind; Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, the Baluchi Gandhi, in Baluchistan ; Maualana Abul Kalam Azad, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and Hafiz Ibrahim in U. P. ; Seth Yaqoob Hassan, Yasin Noori, Syed Mahmood, Sheikh Abdullah etc. in other Provinces. They were no bettei than the slaves and the servitors of the British Bureaucracy. The Quaid rightly dubbed them as show-boys, puppets, traitors, culprits and quislings. He refused to correspond and to shake hands with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad since he had no sense of national self-respect, as it is clear from the telegram of the Quaid mentioned in an earlier Chapter. The first group in the Bureaucratic camp had avidly appropriated all the benefits and blessings of the British rule like lands, titles, jobs and offices which the British Government, in its benevolence, dished out to them in return for their absolute and unquestioning obedience against the honour and interests of the national cause, thriving under the British protection on the blood and sweat of their tenants and peasants. Milton applied the epithet of "blind mouths" to such fellows who for their belley's sake courted every form of dishonour and disgrace, employed all the means fair or foul, shorn of all sense and sensibility, wormed

their way into the offices of prize and profit, devoured everything and brought shame and salavry on themselves and their nation whose welfare should have been their first concern. Employing the pastoral imagery, Milton said that they :—

'For their belly's sake
Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold ?
Of other care theylittle reck'ning make,
Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest ;
Blind mouthes ! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheep-hook, or have learnd ought els the least
What recks it them ? What needs they ? They are sped ;
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel Pipes of wretched straw
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed ,
But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and fould contagion spread :

As for those that ran into the pocket of the Congress, they were reaping double benefit. On the one hand, they were hailed by the Hindus as freedom-fighters and on the other, they were battening and fattening on the ministries that had been offered to them as the price of their traitorous treachery against their own nation. It is interesting and instructive to read the estimate of their character and quality as given by Lord Wavell in his journals. On April, 4, 1946, he recorded about Dr. Khan Sahib that "he was woolly in his ideas, refused to consider the possibility of Pakistan. He did not consider what Hindu domination at the Centre might entail. He talked in fact entirely from the Provincial angle as if the Pathans were a separate nation living in Pathanistan. He contributed little of value." As for Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Lord Wavell wrote that he was large, rugged, bearded, obviously hostile, silent. A stupid but obstinate man. In the appreciation written in May, 1946, he again said that Ghaffar Khan's grasp of English and intelligence both were limited." These two brothers had cut themselves off from the Muslim Mainstream. This was their sin which is unpardonable and

unforgiveable and which has always been regarded, throughout the entire gamut of history, as the worst crime which a man can be guilty of. They regarded the establishment of Pakistan equal to throwing themselves to the wolves. as Maualana Azad recorded in his India Wins Freedom. They never reconciled with the creation of Pakistan and, in their obtuse mind and shrunken soul, continued to nurse their animus and nourish their animosity against Pakistan, the gift of God to the Muslims. They did their best to keep the chains of the Hindu Congress on the Muslim feet but their efforts were frustrated by the Quaid. Their deep hatred and implacable hostility towards Pakistan was shown by the fact that even Abul Kalam Azad had accepted Pakistan after it became a reality but these two brothers did not do so and one of them, who survived the other, kept on hobnobbing with Pakistan's enemies. Lord Wavell characterised Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad as naturally a weak man and described him in face of Gandhi as a rabbit before a stoat. He called Kidwai as a thoroughly bad man.

The Quaid turned back the onslought made by these Muslims. He dealt with the Congress on the one side and the British Government on the other. Both were hostile to the Muslim national cause. One was absolutely bent upon wiping out the very existence of the Muslim League through a combination of Vulpine tricks and assinine tactics, some of which I have already mentioned in the Chapter on the Saga of Seven Years Struggle. The other, the British Labour Government in England, was in the pocket of the Congress, as Wavell said in his journals. Panderel Moon, writing in the Epilogue to Wavell's journals, said "Ab initio, the Labour Government, particularly their Chief Indian Expert, Sir Stafford Cripps, were far too deeply committed to the Congress point of view". Wavell further recorded on December, 6, 1946, that Cripps and Sir Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, were for complete acceptance of Congress view. He also said in another entry that the Muslim League had walked out due to cabinet mission's living in the pocket of the Congress and the dishonesty of Cripps and Pethick Lawrence. The British Government was so much in league with

Congress that, as Wavell wrote on March, 27, 1947, he felt that he had been dismissed more or less at Nehru's bidding since he had not assisted the congress in forcing its will on the Muslim League. Wavell further recorded that his predecessor Lord Linlithgo had told him that the British Government was dishonest and Cripps was crooked. The succeeding Voiceroy Mountbatten was entirely pro-congress. He was chummy with Nehru and was constantly consulting him and showing him the documents which he had kept secret from the Quaid. Wavell's staff was equally thick with Congress and V.P. Menon and Campbell-Johson, who were Voiceroys Reforms Commissioners and Press Attache, were acting as if they were on the staff of Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru! As Wavell recorded, Menon was Patel's mouthpiece and was in his pocket. All of them, including Lord Mountbatten, threw all principles of justice and fair play to the winds and did everything to please and pander to the Congress as if they were competitors in a race to win her favours.

So this was the situation and these were the tremendous odds and the mighty forces against which the Quaid was pitted. With his faith in God and his confidence in his people, he remained completely undaunted by this crafty combination. It is curious that the Quaid was harassed and hounded by this combination and yet he was accused of being an ally of imperialism! He had said in 1946 that the Muslims and Muslim League have only one ally and that ally is Muslim nation and only one helper to whom they look for help and that is God". The Quaid went about his job in perfect faith and trust. He re-organized the Muslim League and made its voice the voice of the people, as he said. I have already given the details of his marathon fight to make the Muslim League an organ of the Muslim India. He brought the Muslims out of the wilderness and put an end to their diaspora and galvanised them into a solid national force and raised them to signal dignity and honour and ultimately succeded in establishing a free and independence Muslim homeland. It was his courage, his independence, his wisdom, his incomparable command of dialectics, his untiring powers of argument and reason, his inexhaustible energy to carry on marathon negotiations

which at last clinched the issue. He, in fact, transmitted, nay transplanted, a part of himself, a spark of his mind and soul in his people, imbuing them with his own aims and ideals, with his own determination and dynamism. Referring to the Muslim rise and re-generation, on April 24, 1943, the Quaid said :—

> "We have gone in seven years through various vicissitudes and we have now reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt that the hundred million Mussalamans are with us...the way in which I see them now is the phoenix—like rise and re-generation of Muslim India, from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destruction in the 18th and 19th centuries is a miracle. The people who had lost everything and who were placed by providence between the two stones of a Mill, not only came to their own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile and politically the most decisive factor in modern India".

Similarly, on July 3, 1943, at the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference he said :—

> "In a few years we have made the Muslims of India, who were a crowd, a nation. They were a scattered mass, disorganized and apathetic. The Muslim League has electrified them and moved them from their stupor, brought back their thinking power which had ceased for tne last 200 years and knit them together. We have gone through the process of nationalization and now we have one flag, one platform and one voice".

The Quaid continuously asked the Muslims to organize and strengthen themselves as that meant strengthening the frontiers of Pakistan which will enable them to achieve their aim and maintain their freedom, their honour, their prestige and the glory of Islam for which they were fighting. That is why he exhorted them in the

following words :—

> "Let us forego our personal interest and convenience for the collective good of our people and for a higher and nobler cause which Pakistan aims at. If we stand united, organized and faithful to our cause, the time is not far off when we shall achieve our goal and prove ourselves worthy of our wonderful and glorious past".

The deep faith that the Quaid had in his high ideal and the indomitable determination to achieve it was contagious. His eagerness and earnestness infected the Mussalamans of the sub-continent and lined them up along the mainstream. Before the establishment of Pakistan he had nothing to give to his people while the British Government and the Congress were offering them jobs and offices, money and ministry, lands and titles in order to wean them away from the Muslim cause. And what did the Quaid offer to them ? nothing of the sort. He offered them blood and sweat, toil and trouble. He asked for sacrifices and suffering. And yet it was his offer of blood and sweat which muslims hugged to their heart and rightaway rejected the lure of lucre dangled before them by their enemies. Referring to this insidious attempt made by them in a bid to divert the Muslim India from its national current and its purpose, he said :—

> "Let me tell you it is not going to make the slightest difference to us. Neither the Government of India nor the British Government nor yet the moves and machinations of the Hindu Congress can deflect us from our firm determination to achieve our goal, namely, Pakistan which is now an article of faith with us. No greater happiness an come to me if I can see it established in my life-time...I cannot give you anything, I cannot give you any reward nor any post nor any title. Every Mussalman that I meet I ask for some sacrifice, some hard work. Inspite of this position that I can give you nothing, Muslim India is showing such regard and

> affection for me. What is the mystery of this? It is obvious because I have spoken boldly what was in the hearts of millions of Muslims, served you faithfully and led you truthfully. I can give you nothing except my service and I shall continue serving Islam and the Mussalmans".

Yes, it was true and they knew this, So they staked their all for the cause of Pakistan. With a sincere and selfless leader the Muslim India was prepared to go to any length, even to the extent of parting with everything that they possessed, their hearth and home, their land and labour, their near and dear ones. Earlier, in the 19th Century, Muslim had for-saken all and, responding to the call of Syed Ahmad Shaheed, had marched away to the north west in thousands and migrated to Afghanistan, under-going unprecedented sufferings and privations and untold misery and wretchedness. Yet the call of their ideal was irresistible to them. So it was with the call of the Quaid. When called, they rallied round him, all the milling millions of them, unrestrained by the British might and unmoved by Hindu money. Even the combined forces of the British and the Hindus broke down on the bar of the Muslim will. As the Quaid said, "Britian wants to rule over India, Gandhi wants to rule over the Muslim India, we are modest and say that we will not allow either of them to rule over us, combined or separately." He lighted in their heart that spark of self-reliance and self-confidence, that sense of self-respect and self-sacrifice which illumined their whole mind and soul and made them crusaders in the cause of Islam. He said :—

> "I want the Mussalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination and who would fight single handed for their conviction though, at the moment, the whole world may be against them."

Such inspiring words, burning with the fire of a deep soul and simmering in the heat of a great purpose, could not fail in their effect.

They are capable of putting life in woods and stones and make them glow again. The Muslims were men and like men did they acquit themselves. Everything was there. Such a leader, such a cause, such a fight. The Muslim rose like one man and marched. It was an honour to work with such a leader for such a cause. Living, it was an honour; dead, it was a glory. He loaded every rift with ore and made them completely united and serried in their ranks and then led this great Army of Allah against the dangers and the difficulties, braving the attacks and onslaughts of the enemies, to its goal. He said :—

> "No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannise over you, intimidate you and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of fire, of persecution which may be levelled against you, tyranny that may be exercised over you, threats and intimidations that may unnerve you. Yet it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing dangers, hardships and maintaining your true conviction and loyalty that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only in Muslim India but in the annals of the world. The hundred million Muslims of India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands and, as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force, can face any danger and withstand any opposition to its united front. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions, they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think hundred times before you take any decision but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal and I feel confident that success is with you."

The Quaid wanted to unite the Muslims, organize them and make them into a hard-hitting force before giving them the marching orders. As he said "When I am convinced of the Muslim's readiness

for a struggle, I will give them the marching order and will be willing to face bullets and those who betray us at that time will deserve to be shot down."

He raised the Muslims to dignity. strength and self-respect and entitled them to be recognized as one of the major forces in the sub-continent in their own right. Now every word that the Quaid spoke was charged with deep faith and was warm with an unshakeable determination. He said :—

> "Now the question is how to get Pakistan? Not by asking, not by begging, not even by mere prayers, but by working with trust in God. "Inshallah", Pakistan is now in our hands."

Again he emphasized the same point when he said to Pethic lawrence, the Secretary of State for India :—

> "I am not a trader. I am not asking for concession for oil nor am I higgling and haggling like a Banya ... the Muslims are not a commodity. They are a nation in their own right".

He had no hostility, no hatered, on animus and no malice against any individual or community. He simply wanted to enable the Muslims to achieve their full and free development according to their genius, tradition and culture. As he said, "no honest man can say that we want to do any injustice to anyone. Ours is a just cause and a just position. We want to live as free and honourable men in this country and to govern the territory which is ours." He believed in honesty and honour for himself as well as for others. As he said, "if there was anybody who stood by honesty and honour, he would always command my admiration and respect." He had a deep faith in freedom and was of the view that only in a free country could the Muslims and the Hindus achieve their full growth and that freedom was the first pre-requisite of a civilized society. So he was fighting for the freedom of both nations, the Muslims and the Hindus. He stressed this point so often. On July 28, 1944, he said "I am working not merely to attain freedom for ten crores of Muslims but also for

thirty crores of other inhabitants of India. I am clear in my mind that there could be no Pakistan and no Independence for Muslim India unless and until independence was achieved for 30 crores of Indians belonging to other communities as well." Similarly, he said in a message. "While Muslim India yields to none in its desire to achieve freedom for all peoples of India, it cannot accept the machination of those who speak in the name of freedom for Hindu India only and not for the Muslims. We want our Hindu brethern to be free, but at the same time we do not want to be ruled by them. We also want to be free". Like-wise, he reiterated, "the Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed". Accentuating the same point that he wanted freedom and honour for all, he said "I must assure you that I yield to none in the determination to safeguard the interests of my country, nor would I yield to anybody in striving for the attainment of freedom for my country...I believe in an honourable pact, not a pact which will be the destruction of one and the domination of the other."

Explaining the true meaning of the Muslim struggle he said :—

> "The struggle is for the fullest opportunities and for the expression of the Muslim national will. The vital contest in which we are engaged is not only for the material gain but also for the very existance of the soul of the Muslim nation. As I have said often, it is a matter of life and death to the Mussalmans and not a counter for bargaining. Muslims have become fully conscious of this. If we lose the struggle, all is lost. let our motto be, as the Dutch proverb says :
>
> "Money is lost, nothing is lost,
> Courage is lost, much is lost,
> Honour is lost, most is lost,
> Soul is lost, all is lost."

The Quaid valued Muslim freedom and honour over and above everything else. He was prepared to risk poverty with honour and

independence. He preferred to be poor in his own Pakistan than to be a slave in rich India. As Lord Wavell recorded in his journal on November, 19, 1946, the Quaid had told him that "the Muslims would be happy to live on one meal a day in their own bit of a country". This was his yearning for freedom, his striving for honour and his struggle for independence—all for his people. Here in lay his glory, here in lay his greatness. This was the basic element of his humanism.

1. Love for Humanity.

Before the establishment of Pakistan the entire Press in the sub-continent was either in the hands of the British or the Hindus. Both of them were biased and bigotted against the Quaid. They kept on fulminating against him in the foulest language and maligned him with the utmost malice simply because he had, as they thought, the hardihood to champion the cause of his wrecked and ruined people whom they wanted to turn into serfs and slaves, into another class of untouchables, in Hindu India. They hated him for he demanded Pakistan in the name of Islam and said that it was to the Muslims their defence, their destiny, and their deliverance and that if they failed, they would perish and no signs and symptoms of Islam will be left in the sub-continent. They abhorred him because he believed in fighting for dignity and honour and independence for all. The Hindu and the British Press waited for a word, for a singnal from their leaders and, as soon as they got it, they unleashed a flood of highly pejorative propaganda against him and, as the Quaid said, put him in the pillory. They described him in various ways. One charge so commonly brought against him was that he was a cold-blooded logician, that he was arrogant and that he had no feeling for humanity. This was an utter lie, a travesty of truth. This clearly shows what hell and havoc the Hindu and the British press played with the Muslims under the power of their personal and national prejudices. Both reason and emotion, love and logic have their place in human life and so they had in that of the Quaid who, as a lawyer, as a legislator and as a leader was logical, reasonable and rational. But to say that he was possessed with cold logic to the exclusion of all love, warmth

and affection for humanity is a mendacious calumny. The Quaid, on the contrary, was a great humanist, with a deep love for human values. He had a deep desire to invest the men and women in the sub-continent with a high sense of honour, self-respect, dignity and decency. He believed in the meekness of the heart, in love and kindness for all the children of God. In his Eid day speech on November, 13, 1939, he said :—

> "The discipline of Ramzan fast and Prayer will culminate today in an immortal meekness of heart before God, but it shall not be the meekness of a weak heart... as God said, the humble shall be strong...man has been called God's caliph (deputy) in the Quran and if that description of man is to be of any significance, it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran, to behave towards others as God does towards man-kind. In the widest sense of the word, this duty is the duty to love and to for-bear. And this, believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one...if we have any faith and love and tolerance towards God's children, to whatever community they may belong, we must act upon this faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobtrusive pieties. On this Eid day there will be no more worthy manifestation of the spirit kindled in us through Fast and Prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our house-hold, within our community and within our country, with all its variety of religions and creeds and to work, in private life or public, for no selfish ends, but for the greater good of all our country-men and, finally, of all human beings."

The sublime humanism of the Quaid appeared in his deep concern for the welfare of the non-muslims, the untouchables, the weak and the poor. Regarding the clashes and conflicts arising from the communal strifes, he asked his followers to remember at such moments their Prayers and reflect for a while if they could not avoid them in the light of the guidance given to us by Quran and that

mighty spirit which is Islam. Explaining it further, the Quaid said :—

> "I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout and supreme realization of our love and tolerance towards all other human beings."

He also dwelt on the spirit of love and toleration that brings lasting peace to the human heart and the pursuit of truth and peace which through single minded devotion to truth leads us to our goal. He said :—

> "In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much and so much only, as we can achieve without encroaching on the rights of others while, at the same time, not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more. And, finally, I would urge you never to forget that Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people."

The Quaid was always pained at the plight of the sixty million untouchables of India, on March, 6, 1940, touched by their misery and mis-fortune, he referred to Congress and said :—

> "I say what have these Votaries, these champions of democracy done ? They have kept sixty millions of people as untouchables. They have set up a system which is nothing but a Grand fascist Council. Their dictator is not even a four anna member of the Congress."

In the Central legislature, referring to the case of the untouchables that he pleaded before Gandhi Ji and said : —

> "Believe me, I pleaded more for the Depressed classes before Mahatma Gandhi than I did for the Mussalmans".

At the Madras Session of the Muslim League in 1940, he said :—

"In this land of yours, there is another nation, the Dravidian. This land is real Dravidistan. Imagine that three per cent high caste Barhman, by skillfull manoeuvring and by a studied mehtod of electioneering, have secured the majority! Is this democracy or is it a farce? I, therefore, give my fullest sympathy and support to the non-Barhmans. I say to them, the only way for you is to come into your own. live your own life according to your own culture...History and ideals. I have every sympathy for you and I shall do all I can to support you to establish Dravidstan. The 7 per cent of the Muslims here will stretch their hand of friendship to you and live with you on terms of equality, justice and fair play...No Government will succeed if its policy and programme is unjust, unfair and tyrannical over the miniorities."

The man-made misery of the so-called scheduled caste, the Depressed class, the untouchables, who are referred to by various names, anguished out the heart of the Quaid who had a deep feeling for them. In a great speech in 1943, at Delhi, exposing their betrayal by Gandhi Ji, he said :—

"You will find in doctor Ambedkr's book that one of the conditions that Mr. Gandhi imposed on Muslim delegation in London at the Second Round Table Conference was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled caste asking for any kind of separate electorate or special treatment. In other words, Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I sak you, ladies and Gentlemen, how is it possible for any man who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of justice, of fair paly, to agree to this that these sixty million people, who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables at the mercy of the Sanatanist (the orthodox Hindus), Mr.

Gandhi being one. I assure you in the name of humanity that I care more for them than for Mussalmans. After all, we Mussalmans are capable of giving and taking. After all, we Mussalmans cannot accept a condition so offensive and absurd as laid down by Mr. Gandhi."

This was the humanity of the Quaid. He refused to compromise with Gandhi Ji at the cost of the untouchables. To him the interest of the sixty millions hawked and hunted members of the Harijan class, (untouchables) was more dear than the advanthge of the hundred million Muslims and he refused to sacrifice them at the alter of Gandhi Ji. This was the same Gandhi Ji who was dying for the love of the Harijans in the thirities, wrote to Lord Pethick Lawrence while he was in the sub-continent as a Member of the Cabinet Mission, demanding immediate dismissal of their leader, Dr. Amedkar, from the Government, as Lord Wavell recorded in his Journal on Feb. 2, 1946. This was the same Dr. Ambedkar who had saved Gandhi's life and signed the Poona pact, the death warrant of his own people, the untouchables.

In the same spirit the Quaid, addressing a Press Conference on August 5, 1944, at Lahore said :—

"It is the cardinal principle of the Muslim League that the minorities within Pakistan and Hindustan shall be adequately safeguarded and protected. This is in fact embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of 1940 out-lining the basic principle of Pakistan. I can tell my friends of the scheduled caste that at no time have I over-looked their interest and position and I can rightly claim that in the past I have done all I could to help them. I shall always stand for their proteciton and safeguard their interest in any future scheme of contitutions for I think that the wrongs and injustices inflited on them for centuries should not be allowed to continue under any civilized form of Govt."

It was because of this that Mr. M. C. Rajah, a leader of the scheduled caste said :—

> "All religions hold the belief that God sends suitable men into the world to work out his plan at Critical juncture. I regard Mr. Jinnah as the Man who has been called upon to correct the wrong...in India, I admire Mr. Jinnah and feel grateful to him because, in advocating the cause of the Muslim, he is championing the claims of all classes who are in danger of being crushed under the steam-roller of a caste Hindu Majority."

Whenever there was injustice and indignity being inflicted upon any individual or people, the Quaid raised his voice against it. He condemned the crimes against humanity being perpetrated in South Africa, in palestine and in Indonesia at that time. About South Africa, he said :—

> "In South Africa Indians are treated like pariahs. I know that General Smuts would say that India had 60 millions of untouchables. I admit that untouchability is a disgrace. But, is that any reason for saying that two blacks make one white ? If India is cursed with this terrible blot, did it lie in the mouth of the head of any civilized Government to say, therefore, I shall also have a black spot on my Government, on my country and on my nation and although it does not exist, I will create one ? There were no two opinion among any honest people either in this country or outside that the Ghetto Bill was a blot on civilization, that it was a crime against those who help the building up of South Africa where legitimately they belong. Our fullest sympathies go out to the people struggling there."

Similarly, the Quaid condemned the admission of lakhs of Jews into Palestine. He called it throughly dishonest and said that the British had disregarded every canon of fairness and justice. In the same spirit, Quaid-e-Azam condemned the Dutch imperialist hold on Indonesia.

During the communal disturbanaces the Quaid made a super-human effort to maintain sense and sanity among the muslim masses and to keep them from vendetta and vengeance. As Mr. Jamshed Naushirwan Ji, the Mayor of Karachi related, the misery of the Hindu miniority touched the very roots of the Quaid's being, rent his heart and he was in tears. He did his best to put a stop to the communal killings. We have a slimpse of his bleeding heart in his utterances and speeches of the period. I will give a few examples. In the beginning of this insensate orgy, the Muslims of Bihar suffered leavily and, as the Quaid said, the Bihar tragedy had no parallel or precedent in record of cold-blooded butchery of the Muslim minority committed by the Hindu majority in which 30,000 muslims had been killed and 1,50,000 had been rendered homeless by acts of arson, loot and murder. Yet the Quaid firmly restrained Muslims from revenge and retaliation in the Muslim majority areas. On November, 12, 1946, at Delhi, he said :—

> "While I quite understand that there is a grave provocation and deep resentment among the Muslims of India, I wish to caution them against retaliation and vengeance in the Muslim majority provinces for what has happened in Bihar. I pray to God that Muslim honour may not be sullied by inhuman degradings and brutal happenings of the kind that have taken place in Bihar. We should not sink low in the scale of civilization, morality and humanity. While our hearts may bleed for their suffering, we cannot sanction cowardly and inhuman massacre of the innocent in other places where muslims happened to be in a majority. If the Muslims lose their balance and give vent to the spirit of revenge and retaliation and prove false to the code of morality and teachings of our Great Religion, Islam, they will not only lose their title to the claim of Pakistan but also it will start a most vicious circle of blood-shed and cruelty which will at once put off the day of our freedom and we shall only be helping to prolong the period of our

> slavery and bondage...I, therefore, most fervently and earnestly appeal to the Mussalamans, where-ever they are, to do their best to protect and defend the non-muslims and do everything that lies in their power to create a complete sense of security and confidence among the non-muslim minority."

In face of the Hindu-Sikh plan of genocide and mass extirpation of Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi, the Quaid in his appeal to the Muslims on October, 30, 1947, at Lahore said :—

> "Remember that scrupulous maintenance and inforcement of law and order are the pre-requisite of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Muslim to give protection to his neighbours and to the miniorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim miniority in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of minority communities and to create a sense of security among them...you must avoid retaliations and exercise restraint."

On receiving account of terrible happenings in the Punjab, the Quaid made a dash to Lahore to personally verify the fact and control the communal situation. In his broadcast on October, 30, 1947, he said :—

> "I am deeply grieved to realize that unfortunately there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me. I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy herrt. We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of the pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish the greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world, by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery ? ...

The communities concerned should realize the folly and futility of indulging in this savagery which has already taken a colossal toll of human life, especially of the innocent ones and has displaced hundreds and thousands of innocent people, rendered them homeless and delivered them to starvation, who are wandering about in the country-side for their lives...This is not the moment for me to go into the origin or of the cause of these happenings or to apportion blame as to which community has disgraced itself more...humanity cries aloud against this shameful conduct and the deeds that have been committed and those who are responsible for the holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilized world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world. It is now up to the leaders and those responsible in the Govt. to make their supreme effort to make amends for the indelible stigma."

The Quaid made it clear that Pakistan followed the teachings of the holy Prophet and that it was not a theocracy and that irrespective of caste and creed, every citizen of Pakistan, true and loyal, was wel-come in close cooperation. On February, 19, 1948, in his broadcast to the people of Australia, he said :—

"The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, (may peace be upon him) we are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all men are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake. Pakistan is not a theocracy. Islam demands from us tolerance of other creeds and we wel-come in closest cooperation with us all those who, of what-ever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan."

Similarly, in his broadcast to the people of America, he further explained and emplified the principles of Muslim humanism. He said :—

> "Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of man, justice and fair-play to everybody. We are the inheritors of those glorious traditions and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsis but they are all Pakistanies. They will enjoy the same rights and priviliges as anyother citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan. Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designes against any country or nation. We believe in the principles of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and supressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the united nations charter."

His constant pre-occupation with the walfare, the safety, the security and the rights of the non-muslims as equal citizens of Pakistan gives us a clear insight into his loving heart which he brought to bear on such questions. His great declaration of human rights in this respect, couched in immortal words, expressing one of the finest aspects of his humanism, appearing in his Presidential address to the Constituents Assembly of Pakistan on August, 11, 1947, is as follows :—

> "Today you are free, you are free to go to your tamples,

you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State...we have started with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State...now we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that. in course of time, Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, becuase that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sence, as citizens of the State."

It is a clear proof of his love for the minorities that he had given one seat to a member of the scheduled caste in the Interim Govt. of India from the seats meant for the Muslims.

His constant concern for the wel-being of the poor, which is another enthralling and endearing element of his humanism, has already been discussed in detail in the Chapter on Saga of Seven year's struggle. Here I will simply point out that his great heart was brimming over with the milk af human kindness for all sections of society, especially for the weak, the poor, the opressed and the down-trodden who constituted the great bulk of the population. It was their participation which turned the campaign for Pakistan into a great mass movement and transformed the Muslim League from a party of the Nawabs, the Noons and Knights into a People's Party. How proud the Quaid felt when the poorer sections of his people contributed some rupees to the Muslim League fund. His memorable words were as follows :—

"I had asked for silver bullets to fight the election campaign...this amount was given not by Birlas and Dalmias but by the poor Muslims which en-hanced the value of the contribution to over rupees one crore."

Similarly, addressing the Muslim University Union, Alligarh, on November, 2, 1942, the Quaid happily and proudly declared :—

"You will be surpised to know that I received money

> orders even of two annas and four annas. The poorest people are sending their mite and are writing moving letters. If I disclose to you some of the contents of these letters you will know what spirit of sacrifice is burning in their heart. They say they are so poor that they cannot give money, but they are ready to give their lives. Such small sums appeal to me more than the Lakhs which richmen can give."

The Quaid's continuous care was how to improve the lot of the poor among us. This had also been the focus of the attention of Allama Iqbal who, before the died in 1938, had charged the Quaid with this mission. Earlier in 1945 the Quaid had urged the Municipal Committee, Ahmadabad, to improve the deplorable living condition and solve the housing problem of the poor upon whose labour and sweat the city was flourishing. He also said that since 1916 the civic amenities in Ahmadabad had been improving for the rich for whom fashionable suburbs had sprung up but the poor remained poor and continued to live in the slums. The Quaid said that he could not allow such a conditions to prevail in Pakistan. He had too deep a love for the poor to permit it. So in August, 1947, he said :—

> "If we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the wel-being of the people, especially of the masses and the poor."

Much earlier, at Allahabad, the Quaid had said :—

> "If for bettering the conditions of the teeming millions of this country, if for uplifting the social, the economic and the political standards of the Muslims of India, I am branded as a communalist, I assure you, gentlemen, I am proud to be a communalist." So the problem of the poor continued to be the upper-most in his mind and he always referred to it and drew attention to it whenever he found an occasion. In 1948, while inaugurating the Valika Textile Mills, Karachi, he specifically referred

> to the provision of amenities for the workers and said "I hope that in planning your factory you have provided for proper residential accommodation and other amenities for the workers for no industry can thrive without contented labour."

2. Courtesies and charities.

As a man Quaid-e-Azam was extremely courteous, polite, gentle, soft-spoken, kind, generous, sympathetic, humane and charitable. He spread the flowers of courtesy as he moved and made life sweet, pleasant and happy for others. After the establishment of Pakistan his first advice to the public servants was that they should be patient and polite, courteous and kind to the people. He had told the gazetted officers at Chittagong that the hubristic concept of the Britishers should give way to the Islam's humane principle of service to the people. He impressed on them that they should get rid of the idea that they were masters and rulers or that they were superior to the people and develop the concept of selfless and sincere service. They should not hold the people at a distance in a freezing atmosphere with no warmth of feeling for the people. He said, "now that freezing atmosphere must go, that impression of errogance must go, that impression that you are rulers must go. You must do your best with all courtesy and kindness. Always show patience. Let not people leave you with the impression that you hate them, that you are offensive, that you have insulted them and that you are rude to them." The Quaid himself was always courteous and kind. Most of his contemporaries and colleagues, who had been dealing with him, paid tribute to this quality in him. Lord Spens, who was Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India from 1943 to 1947 and who, later on, was appointed as Chairman of the Tribunal for the division of assets, said as follows :—

> "One of the kindest and most charming letters I have ever received in my life came from him (Mr. Jinnah)... I still have it and shall always treasure it...I know there are some people who claim that Mr. Jinnah was inclined

to be cold and aloof in manner. I can only say that I never found him so."

Sir Frederick Brown, the Governor of East Begal, said that "the Quaid had "a gift of inspiring affection and loyalty". Sir Stafford Cripps waid that the Quaid was "the most charming and friendly host and campanion." Begum Shaista Ikramullah wrote that he was extremely courteous patient and kind. She has described the scene when her father, S.H. Sohrawardy, took her to meet the Quaid for the first time, in the following words :—

> Miss Jinnah looking most elegant was sitting at the head of the table that was laid with exquisite china and gleaming silver. The Quaid pushed back the chair and getting up, his napkin sliding from his knee as he did so, a quick gesture in stooping to pick it up and to put it on the table and then coming, hand outstretched, a most radiant smile on his face...his smile was the kind that lights up the whole face."

The Quaid was neither contumacious nor cold to his people. He felt a deep sense of solidarity with them & was never aloof or away from them, in body or mind. He constantly thought about their welfare and met them. He wrote to a friend about the gushing, crushing affection of the people that they displayed for him on his way back from Siri Nagar. Mr. Hatim A. Alvi. has described the meeting between an unknown Pathan devotee and the Quaid. The Pathan wanted to see the Quaid and he came to Mr. Alvi and requested him to take him to the Quaid so that he could shake hands with him. The Pathan told him that he wanted to meet this Momin and to embrace him to his heart. He arranged for the interview. As soon as they stepped into the Quaid's room, the Quaid stretched both his hands, and lean and emaciated as he had become by then, he took the stalwart Pathan into his embrace and shook him warmly by the honds. Mr. Alive says that witnessing this scene I got my answer to the unique hold the Qaid-e-Azam had on the minds and the hearts of his people. As D.F. Karaka recorded, the Quaid told him, "the Congress say that

it is my pride that has made me fight for Pakistan. I have no self-pride of that sort. I go to the humblest and poorest people." Dewan Chaman Lal said that Quaid was a loveable, unsophisticated man, whatever may be said to the contrary. Lady Grahamwood, described the Quaid as the most charming, a great gentleman and the most courteous. Similarly, in 1939, when the Quaid had stayed at a house, in Quetta his hostess gave a lovely account of his conduct and said : "I loved and respected him. He was always sympathetic and courteous to me...My tittle son would toddle into the Quoid's room in the morning saying I want Dada Jinnah.' Then he would take him on his knee and both would gossip together. Whenever I tried to take away my little boy, Mr. Jinnah would say 'no, leave him. He showered him with presents, a silver mug with a replica of his handwriting on it, an ivory ring with three little silver dogs that rattled. One day he drove without the chauffeur...making his way through the crowd, he walked into a toy shop and said 'I went a rocking horse'. You may imagine the suprise of the man in his humble little shop when the celeberated Mr. Jinnah asked for a rocking horse, and my suprise when he walked into the house and gave it to my son !"

Lady Wavell said about the Quaid : "Mr. Jinnah was one of the handsomest men I have ever seen. He combined the clear cut, almost Grecian features of the West with Oriental grace and movement. "Similarly, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan said that" the Qnaid was deeply humane. "Mr. Jamil Uddin Ahmad, a Member of the Muslim League Council, described him as the soul of courtesy and kindness.

There are so many stories about his numerous acts of courtesy & charity which sweeten the daily life and which, as Words worth said, Soothe and heal and bless. A Parsy lady who lived in the same street as the Quaid, described him as "so erect, and such a charm. He always took off his hat and said, 'good morning." "He made a graceful and moving gesturs to the Christian Community when he attended the Sunday Service at the Anglican church at Karachi. He had asked the Arch-Deacon if he might be allowed to attend the service in State. His sister was deeply devoted to dim and he was no less attached to her. When the doctor ultimately told him that he was dying of a

disease of lung, his first concern was that the news will upset her. So he questioned the doctor if he had told this to her and on receiving a reply in the affirmative he said, "No, you should not have done it. After all, she is a woman."

Syed Hussain Imam said that "the Quaid's behaviour was not characterized by reserve. In fact he was all courtesy and kindness to anyone who was genuine seeker of knowledge and had a real desire to serve the people. In his moment of relaxation, the Quaid would regale his friends with delightful talk and interesting anecdotes & a great fund of wit and humour." Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan described a visit of the Quaid to him, "learning that he had fallen ill with high fever, he paid to surprise visit to my house and asked me. 'are your worried' ? I said, 'no sir, I am not worried, I have only got temperature'. Then he consoled my wife; saying, 'remember. your husband has made great sacrifice for the nation. It will not go in vain'. My wife and I were greatly touched by the gracious concern shown by the Quaid-e-Azam." This had happended in April, 19, 1944, after Sardar Sahib had resigned from the Khizar Cabinet.

Mr. Altaf Hussain the Editor of "Dawn", recorded an incident in November, 1946, when he saw tears in the eyes of the Quaid after he had heard about the brutalities committed on the Muslims of Bihar. This Quaid asked him about the latest news from Bihar and he told him what he knew. Then in a low voice as if the Quaid spoke to himself alone, he re-called some of the atrocities on Bihar Muslims which had been published in the Press two or three days previously. Suddenly, when Mr. Altaf Hussain looked up he saw that the face of the Quaid was wet with tears. For the next few minutes there was only silence and tears. Mr. Altaf Hussain also described the courteous act and attention of the Quaid in 1946 when the Quaid had picked up the coat of Sir Staffared Cripps and helped him to put it on in England. Like-wise, he related the story how when Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan had caught a chill, the Quaid-e-Azam brought a bottle of Vicks to him and told him to rub the ointment well on his chest and back before retiring. "Then he said good night to us and was about to return to his suite in his hotel in London, returned and said 'how are you going

to rub it on your back ? I think I had better help you. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, of course, immediately protested and I intervened and offered to perform the good offices which I did."

Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffar who was member of the Central Legislative Assembly in India said : "The Quaid was a stern disciplinarian, yet he had the kindliest of hearts." He cherished the moments that he had spent with him. Mr. Z.A. Sulhari recorded that he found him a truly affectionate man who was accessible to all. Mr. S.M. Yusuf, the Quaid's Secretary, wrote that in his dealings with him he was invariably kind, polite, and courteous. Dewan Chaman Lal has described his first meeting with the Quaid and said that there was nothing apart and aloof about him. He was the picture of a man you took to instantaneously, a man who dis-armed you with his informality and a feeling that he was one of you, and, above all, with his uninhibited laughter when telling a funny story.

Mr. Jamil Uddin Ahmad, who was a member of the Muslim League Council, recorded that the Quaid battled against the proud and haughty, against those wbo sought to tyrannise over the weak and the oppressed and he humbled their pride. But to the common man who sought light and guidance, to the silent unassuming workers, he was the soul of courtesy and kindness. When the horizon was dark & everything seemed to be going down the Quaid-e-Azam, with his spirit undaunted and his vision undimaned, would cheer you up with his ineffable smile and a few encouraging words.

The Quaid always valued and repaid sincere service & was grateful for it. His last act representing this repayment has been described by Sister Dunham during the terrible hour of waiting in consequence of the break down of his ambulance while bringing him from the Airport after his last journey from Quetta. She says :—

> "We were still near enough to the refugee camp, the mud and the pestering flies. I found a piece of card-board and fanned Mr. Jinnah's face to keep the flies away. I was alone with him for a few minutes and he made a gesture I shall never forget. He moved his arms free of

> the sheet and placed the hand on my arm. He did not speak but there was such a look of gratitude in his eyes. It was all the reward I needed for anything I had done. His soul was in his eyes at that moment."

All this shows how kind, courteous and humane the Quaid was.

3. Affection and attachment for the youth.

A very pleasant and loveable side of the Quaid's humanism was his ever-green affection and regard for the youth. In their company he felt happy and relaxed and forgot the cares and worries of weightier issues and momentous matters which otherwise constantly weighed on his mind. Speaking in their Company on November, 13, 1939, he said :—

> "We of the older generation have had our trials but I wish to forget them to night in the company of my friends, particularly the young, and to touch, if I may, the fresher springs of inspiration in their hearts for it is they who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations."

While meeting them and talking to them, there came a freshness and a glow in his mind and spirits, his voice and his manner developed buoyancy and brilliance and he became young again. On the occasion of his 67th birthday at Delhi, a happy assortment of Youth and age was there. Poems in Urdu paying glowing tributes to him were recited. The Quaid in a lighter vein, said that there could be no restriction on the freedom of the poetic fancy although he himself had to think a hundred times before saying anything. He felt over whelmed by the love and affection of the people. One of the Poets had said that the Quaid was growing younger. At this he said "if I am getting younger - and I believe I am - it is the feeling of happiness over being treated by the people of India with such regard and affection. Happiness is a tonic."

The Quaid found a kindred spirit in the Muslim Youth. Young people always love idealism which fires their imagination. In a leader who combines high idealism with high courage, a lofty purpose

with a sublime soul, like the Quaid. they repose their total faith and confidence and bestow all their love and affection on him. The Quaid had captured their mind, captivated their heart and caught their imagination. So they stood solidly, respectfully and lovingly behind him. He too returned their love and labour which they offered to him and to his cause. It was, of course, not his cause but the cause of the entire Muslim India and the Quaid, as its champion, became its visible embodiment and expression. Whenever they invited him from the north or the south, from the east or the west, throughout the length and breadth of India, he would always oblige them. He regarded it, as he said at the Punjab Muslim Students Federation on March 2, 1941, as "a call from a Kindred spirit to which he was too glad to respond". He always appreciated their work, congratulated them at what they had done and encouraged them with words of cheer, hope and humour. He had a soft corner for them and had a deep feeling of affection and attachement towards them. Turning to the Students at the Momentous and memorable meeting at Dacca on March, 21, 1948, he said :—

> "My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for 10 years faithfully and loyally. Let me give you a word of warning, you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be expolited by one political party or the other. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change...my young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan. Do not be expolited and do not be mis-led. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be, in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State, to devote your attention to your Studies."

He asked them not to fall a prey to the poison of provincialism, which the enemies of Pakistan, thwarted in their attempt to prevent the birth of Pakistan, were spreading to create disunity and division in East Pakistan to achieve their secret objective. The Quaid was

always anxious for the welfare of the students which, as he thought, lay in their devotion to their studies. He did not want them to delve and dabble in politics and fritter away their energies. He told them that after they left the portals of their Universities and Colleges, they could play their part freely and help themselves and the State. That they must dedicate themselves to scholastic pursuits was the burden of his speeches and addresses to them. He asked them to equip themselves with knowledge and then enter the battle of life and play their part nobly and manfully according to their light.

The Quaid made some of his most inspiring utterances and speeches before the youth of the naıion. His Presidential address delivered extempore at the fifth Annual Session of the All India Muslim Students Federation, Nagpur, in December, 1941, is a land mark in the history of the Muslim politics in the sub-continent. In this long, beautiful and brilliant speech he dealt with Gandhian blitz of agitation, exposed the designs of savarkar who, as President of Hindu Mahasabha, wanted to establish Ram Raj, annex Afghanistan and carry the frontiers to Hindukush ; expatiated on the intrigues and insinuations of Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq and uttered his famous words "I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlithgo and new years gift of Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal". Similarly, he made one of his most memorable addresses at the special Pakistan Session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in March, 1941, in which he discussed the Hindu Muslim culture, the devoring ambition of the Hindus and the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

After the independence the Quaid wanted to build their character, to divert their energies to constructive and creative channels so that the social and economic development of the nation was accelerated. Speaking at the Educational Conference at Karachi in November, 1947, he said :—

> "We have to build up the character of our future generation which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation and sense of responsibility. We have to see that they are fully qualified and perfectly

> equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan."

Similarly, speaking at the Edwards College, Peshawar, in April, 1948, the Quaid that "the difficult task before them was how to reconstruct, how to build up, how to revoluationize and remodel the past legacies of evil customs, character and mentality of which we have been victims as a slave people". He further said that this could be accomplished by the youth who should take their place in trade and commerce, industry, banking, insurance and produce first class experts in ever profession like agriculture, engineering, medicine and other specialized subjects. Talking at the Isalmia College, Peshawar, in April, 1948, he wanted the youth to develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic back ground. He told them that they should learn to obey for only then they could learn to command. He further said :—

> "Remember that your Govt. is your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Govt. can flourish only if your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts are made to improve it."

The Quaid described the Muslim Youth at the Islamia College in 1942 as Pioneers of the Punjab and honoured them for spreading the mission of All India Muslim League. But he advised them not to take part in present political movement and told them that they could be in the fore-front of public life only, after finishing their studies. He had also described Alligarh Muslim University as the arsenal of Muslim India.

The deep love that the Quaid had for the young people is borne out by the story related to Mr. Hector Bolitho by the son of a friend of the Quaid who had come to stay with him with a companion. On the night preceding the day of their departure, the Quaid could not sleep as he could not bear the thought of their going away. He entered their room during the night, switched on the light, apologized

for disturbing them, sat down and talked to them for a long time. At last he said, "I could not sleep because you are going away tomorrow." Then he told them he wished he had a son. He had no son of his own. So God made him Father of a nation with more than a hundred million people who would always love, honour and revere him and his memory.

4. Concern for Women.

Another aspect of the Quaid's humanism was his deep and continuous concern for the Muslim Women. He wanted to educate them, emancipate them from the thral of parda, put them beside their menfolk and make them their true comrades and companions in the battle of life. He also wanted to make them good mothers, good wives, good daughters good sisters and raise their status and lift them in honour and dignity. He said :—

> "I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our great struggle of life and death. They are shut up within the four walls of the house like prisoners and closely confined in the veil when out. This condition of our women is a crime against humanity."

The Quaid was deeply pained to see them in this state. He said that no nation could rise to the heights of glory unless its women stood side by side with its men. He was of the view that women alone could form the character of their children. But if they remained illiterate and ignorant, a captive to evil customs and slave to inhuman practices, how could they build their character, form their mind and shape their soul. In March, 1948, addressing the ladies, he said :—

> "In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity the women have to play a valuable part as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitute the back-bone of the nation, not merely in their home but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside, in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for achievement of Pakistan, Muslim Women

> stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for building Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty."

Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad has written that she put a question to the Quaid asking him if the foundation of Pakistan will be laid on conservative or on progressive lines. He replied "Tell your young girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader. Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be set working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life."

The Quaid was anxious to improve the lot of women in Pakistan. He wanted to make them strong, independent, self-confident and self-reliant by developing their character, their capability and their competence. With the help of his sister Mohtrma Fatima Jinnah he established women's industrial homes in Karachi, Lahore, and Qutta and formed a womens Relief Committe and also constituted the Pakistan Women's National guard.

All this fully and clearly shows the humanism of the Quaid. He was essentially a man of deep love, good nature and great courtesy.

5. Eternal Optimism.

An-other marked aspect of the Quaid's humanism was his quenchless hope, faith and optimism. The springs of his undying hope, faith and endeavour lay, as he said, in Islam whose enteınal message in this behalf was (لاتقنطو) (don't despair). He never lost hope and heart even in the darkest hour. He did not show any sings of despair in the long night of suffering, the 2½ years Congress misrule. He did not despair when a combination of crises had gripped Pakistan on its birth. He did not lose heart when the reign of terror was let loose on the Muslims of India, driving 9 millons of them, bereft of everything, hunted and hounded, lashed and looted, into Pakistan to overstrain its nascent economy and to shatter its resources. He did not lose hope when the exodus of the Hindu bankers, financiers, traders, businessmen, civil servants and administrators from Pakistan

to India was started in a bid to bring Pakistan to its knee. He did not grow hopeless when India refused to give us our share of cash assets and the Military equipment and stores. Quaid-e-Azam believed in God and his people and surmounted all the dangers and difficulties that stood in his way. He did not despair when Mountbatten put his plan to grab Kashmir into operation and landed Indian troops in Srinagar. He did not a despair when Radcliffe gave his highly unjust and perverse award. He never allowed any let up in his unceasoning efforts. Any lesser man would have broken down and collapsed in face of these tremendous problems. In Roman history we have seen great men like Cato, Brutus, Senneca, and others losing hope and committing suicide in the last crisis of their life. They were great democracts, great Romans who upheld the glory of Roman Republic and given fight to the Dictators of their time. But ultimately they fell into gloom, last hope and put an end to their lives in a bid to escape from infamy and injustice. This, therefore, became a blot on their humanism. The glory of the Quaid was that he went on fighting till the very end of his life and met every situation, howsoever grave and grim, with an equally high resolve and lofty courage. Rather, I should say, the odds and the obstacles of the way, instead of slowing down his pace, had the effect of quickening it. His struggle was unslacking and ceaseless. On October 10, 1947, in his Eid message to the people, the Quaid said :

> "I am confident that inspite of its magnitude, we shall over come this grave crisis as we have in our long distory surmounted may others and, notwithstanding the efforts of our enemies, we shall emerge triumphant and strong from this dark night of suffering and show to the world that this state exists not for life but for good life. I hope that whenever Muslim men and women foregather on this solemn day, they will in their prayers remember the unfortunate men and women and children who have lost their near and dear ones, home and hearth and are undergoing an agony and suffering as great and cruel as any yet inflicted on humanity. In the name of this mass

of suffering humanity, I renew my appeal to the Muslims, wherever they may be, to extend to us in this hour of our danger and need their hand of brotherly sympathy, support and cooperation. Nothing on earth can undo Pakistan. The greater the scrafices we are made to undergo, the purer and more chastened shall we emerge like gold from the fire. So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilise all our resources in a systematic and organized way to tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline, worthy of a great nation."

Similarly at the University Stadium Lahore on October 13, 1947. he said :—

"All I require of you now is that every one of us whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace without and peace within. Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millons of our of distressed and unfortunate brethren who are either already with us or who had still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least that now we can do for them is to receive them as our own brethren. No decent and sane person should consider that they are unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims. Alongwith this, keep up your moral. Do not be afraid of death, Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause".

The Quaid remained un-daunted by the immensity of the problems. Hope sprang eternal in his breast and his faith in the

cause of Muslim nation remained unshaken. He went into action with redoubled energy and effort at the age of 71, while he was suffering from a wasting disease. When he started his struggle for the Muslim India, he was 61 years of age in 1937, when people start looking upon themselves as old and infirm and when they develope an attitude of apathy and indifference towards the affairs of life. But the Quaid, as I have said earlier in a chopter, felt young and frsh, and buoyont at the age of 61 and made an extensive tour of the entire subcontinent, visiting the cities, the towns and the villages and establishing the branches of the Muslim league, in all these places in thousands, surrounded by hatred and hostility, deep in difficulties and dangers and yet nothing could make a dent in his will which was supreme over everything, Addressing the civil and Military Officer on October 11, 1947, he said :

> "the disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake colossal problems of rehabilitation of millons of displaced persons which is going to tax our energies, and resources to the utmost extent. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task confronting us and let our new-born State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies? This is a challenge to our very existance and, if we are to survise as a nation and translate ours dreams about Pakistan into reality, we shall have to grapple with the problems with redoubled zeal and energy ...Are all the sacrifices that we have been called upon to make to be in vain? Are we going to sit down and mope over losses ?. If we do so, we shall be behaving just as our enemies want us to behave. We shall be playing their game and will soon be suppliants for their mercy. The fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determination to get down to] the task of building our State on a strong and firm foundation. This requires work, work and more work. I fully realise that a majority of you have

> worked under a terrible strain during the war (World war II) and might need rest and relaxation, but you should remember that for us the war has not ended, it has only just begun and if we are to fight it to victory we shall have to put in super-human efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions. It is the time for constructive effort, selfless work and stead-fast devotion to duty"

The effect was electric. The drooping and desparing spirits revived and received fresh energy and impetus, broke out of the slough of despondency and galvanised them into ceasless activity. The soul-force of the Quaid led them on through the buffets and blows and, by a supreme effort of will, triupmed over every thing.

Quaid-e-Azam believed in humanity, in the human values and in human nature. He was of the view that in politics the last word was never said and that today's enemies are tomorrow's friends. This was his supreme and sublime sense of humanism which made him hope that the goodness of human nature will alway striumph over the forces of evil and vanquish it thereby bringing about the establishment of peace and love and friendship with dignity, honour and independence. His hope and faith in humanity was undying and abiding. This was the glory of his Muslim humanism.

> Gentle Law giver, yet though dost wear
> The Godheads' most benignant grace,
> Nor know we anything so fair
> As is the smile upon thy face :
> Flowers laugh before thee on their beds
> And fragrance in thy footing treads.

A Great Leader

Greatness is a moral quality. It is an attribute of the human soul or, as Longinus said, it is an image of the soul. So in any assesment of human greatness, attention must necessarily be focussed on the soul of the man. It is the greatness and the sublimity of the soul of the man, as manifested in his word and deed, that determines his true greatness. That is why Socrates said that his basic concern was with the soul of his alumni and it was their soul that he sought to instruct and improve. Defending himself before the Athenian court he said :

> "All I do is to go about and try to persuade you, both young and old, not to care for your bodies or your monies first, but to care more exceedingly for your soul to make it as good as possible. I tell you thal virtue, comes not from money, but from virtue come both money and all other good things for man-kindin public and in private".

He persisted in this course and refused to be cowed down by fear of death. When he was asked if he was not running the risk of a sentence of death by persisting in pursuit of truth, he said :—

"You are wrong, my friends, if you think a man with

> a spark of dignity and decency in him ought to calculate life and death. The only thing that he ought to consider, if he does any thing, is whether he is right or wrong, whether what he is doing is good or bad."

Applying his concept of truth to the practical affairs of life, Secrates revolutionised the theory of Govt. and the concept of justice. Before him, Simonides had asserted and explained that Governmen stood for the advantage of the rich and the strong and that justice meant the maintenance of their advantages and interests. Socrates criticised his theory and said that the basic purpose of Govt. was the protection of the rights of the poor, the weak and the oppressed and that the true concept of justice consisted in safe guarding and securing their interests and advantages. This came to the vested interests of the Athenian society as a blow since they bebelieved like the Hindu Brahmans, in the dogma of the infallibility and the supremacy of rank and status over and above the moral and spiritual excellence. They, accordingly, turned furiously on him, charged him, tried him and sentenced him to death.

Similarly, when Jesus Christ started preaching the gospel of love and truth and the brotherhood of man and went about healing and helping the sick, the poor and the weak, the Jewish, Brahmans, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, who took the new creed of Christian Humanism as an onslought on their power and position, conspired with the Roman Governor Pilate and, according to the New Testament, got him crucified on the hills of Golgotha.

Likewise, when Prophet of Islam started his mission in Arabia in the name of human unity, equality and fraternity and declared that he had abolished the barriers of race and region, caste aud colour and had laid down the sole criterion of human superiority to be righteousness (moral excellence) and took practical steps to make it a living factor in shaping and organizing the muslim life, the Brahmanic hierarchy of the Arab tribalism, that believed in the supremacy of their rank and status, vowed his destruction and drove him and his followers out of Mecca- But the soulful humanism of the new

religion prevailed over the old idolatroas sham and the Prophet of Islam re-entered Mecca in triumph proclaiming universal peace and forgiveness.

1. A Soul Sublime.

It is thus clear that Brahmanism in all countries and climes has implacably been pitted against the principle of peace and purity of the human soul. In India, when the muslim nation, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, asserted their right to freedom of the muslim soul and struggled for its expression in a free muslim nation, the Brahamanism, that believed in the primacy of caste and colour, marshalled all its forces and led them, in an imposing and impressive display of might, into a life-and-death grapple against Islam. The glory and greatness of the Quaid is that he stood up against this horrendous horde in order to save the muslim soul and the culture of Islam. He wanted to restore the muslims to their dignity, honour and independence and re-establish them in their own right as a nation in the sub-continent. While speaking on March 22, 1939, the Quaid referred to the British and the Brahamanic attempts at disintegrating the muslim culture and at destroying the muslim soul, and challenged them as follows :—

> "But let me tell you that you, alone or both combined, will never succeed in destroying our souls. You will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic culture, that spirit will live, is going to live as it has lived. You may over-power us, you may oppress us, you can do your worst. But we have come to the conclusion and we have now made a grim resolve that we shall go down, if we have to go down, fighting...our hearts are singed, our blood is boiling. We shall suffer and we shall go through fire. But we shall never submit to you."

The Quaid took his stand on the moral ground. He believed in the moral merit and the spiritual excellence of his cause. In the long

and continuous fight that he waged against Brahamanism, never did he descend to a mean or malicious act, never did he stoop to adopt a course of conduct that was not of the highest order of honour and integrity, never did he try to deceive any party by resorting to duplicity or deceipt, never did he suffer from the common failings of the common politicians like hypocrisy and hubris. He was always firm and loyal in principle and policy, free and fearless in thought and action, true and tameless in faith and fortitude. He was a statesman of the highest calibre. What distinguished him from the general run of politicians and set him over and above them all, was the moral quality of his politics which was governed and guided by the ethical ideal of Islam, as well as the best of the west. He was, as words-worth said of Milton, like a star that dwelt apart. The Quaid was a great admirer of Cromwell. Speaking in the Central Assembly on March 18, 1925, he had said :—

> "I should like to follow Cromwell. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than that and certainly my ambition will be satisfied if I can become the Cromwell of India ......I suppose, he walked alone".

The quality that impressed the Quaid in Cromwell was that he walked alone. People joined him and followed him but in his soul, in his rendezvous with his destiny, he was alone. The great battles that he fought against tyranny and treachery, against iniquity and injustice, were joined by thousands but the light and the leading, the will and the volition, was exclusively his. Milton had invoked his siprit in the battle for freedom of conscience and said :

> New foes arise,
> Threatening to bind our souls in secular chains,
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw,
> Of hireling wolves whose gospel is their maw.

Similarly, in the fight for a national home for the muslims, the unflinching courage, the unfaltering will, the unflagging mind was of the Quaid and the Quaid alone. The whole of the Muslim India joined him but he was capable of fighting the battle alone, as he said ;

in his memorable words :

> "I want men of faith and courage and determination to fight single-handed for their conviction against the whole world".

He had a high moral purpose which informed and animated his political practices. He looked upon his role as a mission which invested his words and deeds with high seriousness. The tone and tenor of what he said and did was charged with a deep sense of the moral values. He was fully conscious of the high office to which he was called and the high destiny to which he was leading his people. His voice became the vioce of Muslim India. It found an echo in every muslim heart. When he made his call, it went straight to the soul of the muslims and inspired the whole nation with a deep sense of purpose and loyality. He imparted his own spirit to his followers and charged every fibre of their being with a momentous meaning. It is a wonder that insignificant, unknown and obscure men and women, on receiving his message of high import, became transformed into a great dynamic force and acquired a significance and a meaning that compelled respect and admiration. So, the mind, the character, the quality and the personality of the Quaid affected the muslims like a volcanic force, galvanised them and put them in complete harmony with the national cause, welded them together into a powerful force, mobilised them and their moral and material resources and set them marching towards the national goal of a free Pakistan. He had lighted a spark of freedom in every heart, disciplined the powers and the energies of the muslim India and made them invincible in the battle for honour and independence. Like the vision of a high romance, his call rivetted their attention and fixed their loyalty unswervingly upon the national ideal. All this was possible only because the Quaids' politics was based on the highest moral principles.

In general politicians have little regard for moral ideals. They try to pay lip service to them outwardly but inwardly they remain wedded to an a-moral attitude towards men and affairs. Most of them abjure every moral sense and sedulously cultivate an outlook of

apathy and indifference towards the values. Their politics is mostly divorced from ethics. This isolation of politics from eithics is a dominant attribute of the western political practice. This trend has been clearly noticeable throughout the entire gamut of the western history right from the pre-medieval period. Its apologists found support for it in the famous dictum of Jesus Christ :

> "Render ye to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and to God what belongs to God".

The conscious manipulation and application of this dictum to politics mark the beginning of the hiatus between the western politics and its ethics. Caesar and God are two symbols that stood for two different and diametrically opposed approach to the affairs of life, the former denoting the worldly, be secular and the amoral attitude towards the affairs while the latter symbolising a devotion to the ideals of religion and morality.

For a fuller understanding of what really caesarism meant in practice, we should take a rapid review of the character and conduct of the first two Caesars. The first Caesar, known to history as Julius, with all his feverish flair for soldiering, commanding, governing, speaking and writing, was a man with absolutely no regard for the moral values. As Plutarch recorded in his Lives, rapacity, licence, immorality and corruption abounded in his character and career. He employed the roughs and toughs of the city during the elections and they helped him not only with their votes but also fought for him with their swords, slings and spears. The Polling Stations ran with blood and the platform was strewn with human corpses. As Suetonius wrote in his Twelve Caesars, Julius Caesar had won bad name for natural and unnatural vices, Curio described him as every woman's husband and every man's wife. He stole three thousand worth of gold from the Capitol and replaced it with the same weight of bronze......He looted the Roman treasury and grabbed the entire gold and silver and gave it to his rapacious, rough and rowdy followers. When the Roman Tribune checked him saying that it was against the law of the Roman Republic, Caesar said :

"Laws and Swords have their own time. This is Caesar's time, the time of sword and the law shall remain in abeyance".

He never cared for the Senate and its sanctions. Once he sent his captain to the Senate to bring certain orders. When he was told that Senate will not give any more powers to Caesar, he clapped his hand on the hilt of his sword and said "then, this shall". He destroyed the Roman Republic, extirpated its democratic institution, created himself a dictator and reduced the Senate to a state of abject servility.

Similarly, the second Caesar, Octavius, who assumed the high title of Augustus, who was deified and whose statue was placed in the Capital for public worship, was a crafty fellow. He completed the annihilation of the Roman Republic. As Tacitus recorded in his Annals of the Imperial Rome, "he bribed the army and the civilians, absorbed the functions of the Senate, the bureaucracy and the judiciary in his own hand. Opposition did not exist as he had disposed of all men of spirit by war or judicial murder. Those that were left behind were too much terror-stricken or given to obedience and opportunism to assert their ancient democratic rights. His administration, was incapacited by corruption, favouritism and violence". These two Caesars stood at the head of a long line of Ceasars. After them came the minor ones like Tiberius Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Qtho, Vespasian, Domitian etc : all of whom, except a few, simply manifested the depth of depravity in which they had plunged the Roman Rule after its divorce from the ethical ideals of Varrow, Cato, Cicero and Brutus. This ambient decadence ultimately split up the whole of Italy into numerous ducal principalities like Naples, Venice, Florance, Milan etc ; etc ;

In the 15th Century the Principles of Ceasarism in its basest and corruptest form become the guiding light of Machiavelli who explained, developed and perfected the art of politics as a subtle and satanic instrument of policy. He stood for complete divorce of politics from ethics. In his Prince, he said that the supereme object of the ruler

was to maintain and expand his power and so he could not allow any moral considerations to baulk and baffle him. "Goodness," must necessarily bring a man to grief...it is, therefore, necessary to learn how not to be good and to use this knowledge...according to the necessity of the case". He advocated the use of force, fraud, falsehood, perfidy and poison for the liquidation of opponents, the enemies and even the friends who had the potential to cross the path of the prince and to challenge him in his claims in future. He became the mentor and his book the manual of the western political practitioners. Henry Taylor expounded the same political creed in his Stateman in England. He termed it as a Book which was primarily concerned with the art of self advancment. He said : "the conscience of a stateman should be rather a strong conscience than a tender one ...Statemen should have more hardihood than much weak sensibility of conscience." In other words, the stateman should be able to ride rough-shod over the sentiments and the susceptibilities of the people. Taylor put personal ambition over and above the moral considerations. He was in line with the political policies and practices of Bacon and Butler, the former was Lord Chancellor of England and a greate literary light of his day. But he indulged in every form of corruption and ultimately, when impeached and tried, he abjectly begged for mercy saying, "My Lord, have mercy on a broken reed". The latter, Lord R.A. Bulter, had, as Wavell wrote, told him that politics was a dishonest business.

This Hindu East had its own Machiavelli in Chankia who was called Kautilia, the deceiver. His basic preoccupation was how to perpetuate power in the hands of the Brahman class and how to maintain the supremacy of this class over and above all others. He developed the art of politics in his Patanjali. He advocated the adoption of any means, fair and foul, calculated to secure the ends of the ruler. He should not be deflected from pursuing a course of force and fraud. willainy and perfidy by any idea of moral commitment. The ruler was free, unhampered by any moral sense or ethical duty, to further his interests and ambitions. He believed that the other classes, especially shudras, must be kept in crushing slavery, in

eternal darkness. That is why even today thousands of untouchables are burnt alive and killed in various ways every year in India, as K.L. Gauba wrote in his Passive Voices.

The brief review given above will show the extent to which the political practices in the West and the East had been isolated from the moral values.

The glory of the Quaid is that he scrupulously practised and maintained the ethical principles and integrated them with his political creed. All those who knew him in any capacity, admitted this quality of the Quaid and paid tributes to him. They were all unanimous about it and repeated and reiterated it in a chorus. Even his political opponents, even an arch enemy of Pakistan like Mountbatten, who had caused an irreparable injury to Pakistan. admitted this in his B.B.C. interview, in December 1975. He said that his wife was dead, that he himself was waiting for a call from heaven and that at such a time he will not tell a lie. With this prefatory remark he said that Quaid-e-Azam was the only person who impressed him the most during his official career in India, that he did not have the slightest shadow of hypocisy about him, that he was a man of the highest character with a deep sense of honour and integrity, that he was up right and told the truth without any hasitation. Similarly, another British statesman, Sir Stafford Cripps, who had come to India with the Cabinet deligation and who was very thick with the Congress, said about the Quaid "he was a man of the highest standard of probity and honour ...Determined in his purpose...Ready and willing to devote himself whole-heartedly to the cause of his people, no matter what labour this entailed for himself." Another member of the Cabinet Mission, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, comparing him with Cromwell, Churchill and George Washington in strength of character, found in his "integrity of purpose and integrity of word the essential ingredients of success". He said ;

> "I realized in him a man of very firm resolution, a man who, when he made a promise always kept it...He had a very rugged personality, all men who have had to

> achieve, contrary to the views of many...a tremendous change, have been men of that character. In our own country, here in Britian, we have had our own Oliver Cromwell, Winston Churchill, and, in the United States, they had their George Washington...Men of rugged determination who carried out their will. But provided that a man has the Quaids integrity of purpose and integrity of word, that ruggedness is not a hinderance, but an essential ingredient of success".

Sir, Olaf Caroe, the Governor of N.W.F.P. said the following about the Quaid :

> "The Chief impression that remains of the Quaid-e-Azam is one of integrity and single-mindedness of purpose. An undoubted out-ward pride of demeanour was in reality the expression of a sort of inner uprightness that would not suffer the second rate or compromise with subtlety or devious tactics in any shape or form. It was the undeviating pursuit of what was to him right; and not merely the political that led to Jinnah's remarkable success".

Mr. I an Stephens, Editor of Statesman, referred to the Quaid as a nation-builder and Asian counter-part of Bismarck or Cavour and said :

> "What concerned him, utterly absorbed him, in his later years, calling forth the strength of an exta-ordinary will was to preserve the culture of the subcontinent's Muslim cammunity against the rising threats of suffocation by militant revivalist Hinduism, a culture and religion combined, wholly inimical to any thing Muslim, which was using the ballot box as its instrument and hypocritically concealing itself behind the Congress Party's cloak.".

Similariy George Marshall, Secretary of State, United States of America, said about the Quaid :

"Respected by all who knew him whether political friend or foe, for his deep personal integrity and honesty, Mr. Jinnah was also admired for his keen intellect and personal charm...His progressive and constructive contribution in all fields won him a highly esteemed place among the elder statesmen not only of Ashia but of the world".

President Truman of America said that Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to any man......Rose from humble beginnings to a position of vast and constructive influence through his abilities and sense of dedication".

Sir R.K. Shanmukhan Chetty, the Finance Minister of India, said "what struck me as the most outstanding qualities of Mr. Jinnah are his uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect. He is the incorruptible politician par excellence". Likewise, Dr. C. Reddy commented on the basic quality of the Quaid being his freedom from cant and hypocrisy and his sence of progressive principle, in the following words :—

"Mr. Jinnah is the pride of India and not the private possession of the Muslims. A straight thinker, straight fighter and straight hitter, he is anything but a subtlety shop and, in fact, suspicious of the subtle politicians whose text read one way and whose oft repeated commentaries in the other and different way according to exigencies. In dignity he is the very example and standard bearer......truly he has been the saviour of Indian progress and modernism".

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose of Bangal said these words about the Quaid:

"Mr. Jinnah was great, as a lawyer, once great as a Congress man, great as a Leader of the Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat and greatest of all as a man of action......The world has lost one of its greatest

> statesmen and Pakistan its law giver, philosopher and guide". The New Yark Herald Tribune wrote as follows:—
>
> "For Jinnah there may have been sorrow in the spectable of community warring against community, but no contradiction against Carnal weapons to defend the things of the spirit. He built his state. He had given his co-religionists a national home to form institutions in keeping with their inner ideals and traditions. He preserved them from being merged in the mass of India".

Hodson in his 'The Great Divide' emphasing the high quality of the Quaids character said as follows :—

> "One thing is certain, it was not for any venal motive that he (Quaid) changed from an Ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity into a Muslim champion. Not even his political enemies ever accused Jinnah of corruption or self-seeking. He could be bought by no one and for no price. Nor was he in the least degree a weather-cock, swinging in the wind of popularity or changing his politics to suit the changes of the times. He was a steadfast idealist as well as a man of scrupulous honour...... His long term objective was to seize from this moment of history what might be a millenium of national identity for hundred million Indian Muslims".

Beverely Nichols looked upon the Quaid(e-Azam as the most important man in Ashia. Even Mountbatten had spotted the supremacy of the Quaid in the Indian politics when he said that when he saw him he atonce thought that this was the man who held the key to the Indian question. It was because of this that Mountbatten concentrated all his mental and moral powers on winning over the Quaid, but ultimately he failed because he could not do anything with a man who said that he saw his point but did not agree with him.

The policy and the purpose of the Congress had always been to break the Muslim unity, strength and cohesion, to divide and domi-

nate them. The Congress High Command constantly and clearly kept this Central objective before their eyes, but as they could not openly and manfully avow this in the public, they made subtle and shrewd shifts in order to entice and entrap the Muslims in the name of Indian National struggle for freedom. They had created a pocket of stooges in most of the Provinces. Khan brothers in N.W.F.P., one of whom was called the Sarhadi Gandhi ; Allah Bakhsh and G.M. Syed in Sind, the latter contested for a provincial seat against the Muslim League in the most crucial elections of 1946 and was completely routed ; Khizar and Mr. Ashraf in the Punjab ; Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir ; Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, the Balochi Gandhi, in Baluchistan ; Maula Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Rafi Ahmad Qidwai, Hafiz Ibrahim, Maula Ahmad Saeed, Dr. Zakir Hussain etc. in U. P. and Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haque in Bengal.—These were the traitors to the Muslim National Cause in the sub Continent. They were pawns and puppets in the hands of the Hindu Congress. They broke away from the great Muslim mainstream and turned against their own people. Many Muslim Organizations like the Ihrar, the Khaksar, the Jamiat Ulemai Hind, the Jamiat Islami etc. either actively and spitefully opposed the League or kept away from the National movement. This was what the Congress was passionately praying for and what they desired with all their heart and soul. As Wavell said, "the aim of the Congress was power and to get rid of British influence after which, they thought, they could deal with the Muslims and the princely States, the former by bribery and black-mail and gropaganda and, if necessary, by force ; the latter by stirring up their people against them". The Congress Leaders could be sweet and soulful, lovely and loving towards Muslims to get them sign their death warrant by accepting Congress as their liberators and intercessors, but once they had served their purpose as tools and touts and lived out their utility, they were to be thrown overboard and the Hindu Juggernaut was to trample them under foot and reduce them to the status of the untouchables. The Quaid had rightly read the intents and purposes of the Hindu Congress and clearly told Mountbatten :

"In fact the Leaders of the Congress are so dishonest, so crooked. and obsessed with the idea of smashing the Muslim League that there are no lengths to which they could not get to do so. As Moon recorded in his note on Wavell's Journals, "the Quaid had repudiated the right of the Congress to nominate a Muslim in the Interim Government and in this his objection stemmed from his belief that the Muslim's only hope of resisting Hindu domination was to put up an unbroken and united front and that, if any countenance was given to Nationalist Muslims, whom Jinnah regarded as Congress stooges, it would simply further the Hindu aim of dividing the Muslims. In Sind where the Muslims were in clear majority, the Hindus by exploiting Muslims Divisions, had for several years during the war, established what was virtually a Congress Government. More recently in the Punjab by combining with the rump of the Unionist party, they had successfully kept the Muslim League out of power in this important Muslim majority Province. The Municipal Committees, in the West Punjab, where the Hindus were in a minority, they had by similar skilful tactics, habitually attained for themselves control of affairs. Jinnah thouhht that if muslims were allowed to attain high office as Congress (Hindu) nominees, then Congress by subtle flattery or other more material inducements would win more Muslims to their side and fatally divide the Muslim ranks".

As Mr. Hatim Alvi wrote, the same thing was told to him by the Quaid in these words :—

"We have no press, we have no purse and our platform is extremely divided. The Congress has done every thing to divide the Muslims and several groups, factions and leadership have been created to fight the Muslims. You have "Shias", Momins", Ihrars, Nationalist, Unionists,

> and what not. We have not only to fight our open enemies, but also some of our own people who have become easy instruments of the Congress. Our aim is to put up a robust and sound opposition to the Congress and bring all the Muslims on one single platform and then negotiate with the British and others on the basis of a Unified, powerful, strong Muslim front."

As Mr. Farrukh Amin, the Deputy Private Secretary to the Quaid recorded, in the last days of his life the Quaid deeply felt about the tregedy of the Muslim nation as it was betrayed into the hands of the enemies and let down by its own people. Refering to the role of Sheikh Abdullah when India landed its forces in Kashmir, the Quaid said :—

> "What a great tragedy it is for the Muslim nation that our enemies have always had men from amongst us to do their work for them".

This tragedy was equally deeply felt by Allama Iqbal who was shocked to see so many Mir Sadiqs and Mir Jaffars springing up in the Muslim nation to sell it to its enemies. The latest hell-hound of a traitor among us was Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman who disgraced himself as well as Pakistan so brazenly and so basely and who has become a symbol of dishonour and disgrace for all time to come and who has joined the infamous ranks of Mir Sadiqs and the Mir Jaffars. The Quaid abhorred such traitors and their treachery from his whole soul. That is why he had refused to talk to Abul Kalam Azad and told him that if he had any spark of self respect, he should resign from the Congress.

The Congress tried their tricks and tactics on the Quaid as well and anyother Muslim of lesser character would have succumbed to their blandishments. Raj-Gopala-Charia, after consulting Gandhi, made the sporting offer of the office of Prime Minister in the undivided India to the Quaid. Any other Muslim Leader of the sub-continent, hankering after office and its perquisites and hungering for the fulfilment of his personal ambitions, would have jumped *at it* and,

like Mephistopheles, not only sold his soul but also the destiny of his nation to the Congress. But the Quaid spurned at this offer and made sport of it. He held it to ridicule and raillery and said that it was an insult to any self-respecting man. The Quaid was horrified at the way the Congress went about dividing the Muslims and discrediting their organizations in the Muslim Majority Povinces, especially in Sind and the Punjab. About the former he said "It is not only unwise but dangerous that efforts should be made to disrupt the Musalman and set up puppet Muslims premiers and Ministers who will act as marionettes, according to the wishes of the Hindus whose vote and support only can keep them in that position. The Congress in the eyes of all just and generous men was actually discrediting itself by employing such means and methos which tended to recoil on it, a Professor Reddy pointed out. The Quaid also said :—

> "Look at the spirit in which they (Congress) are forming Ministeries in the Muslim minority Provinces and hindering us from forming Ministeries in our majority Provinces."

All this clearly showed the absolutely unscrupulous and unethical policies and practices of the Congress which obviously could not inspire confidence in the minorities who became more and more alarmed and estranged from it and who ultimately broke away from it completely and irrevocably. This also fully and clearly indicated the unbridgeable gulf between the principles of morality and the practice of the Congress. It exposed the duplicity and the deceit of the Congress and cast a pall of obloquy on it till eternity.

The Quaid stood firm and fearless and refused to compromise his sense of honour and integrity and turned down every dishonourable suggestion which the Hindu politicians regarded as their normal political stock-in-trade, But the Quaid regarded it as insult to his sense of self-respect and dignity. The incident of the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald is an example which further indicates the highly moral attitude of the Quaid. It has been recorded by the Quaid's biographers that while the Quaid was attending the round-

table confrence in England, the British Premier made a subtle suggestion to the Quaid saying that he would need the services of competent Indians for high jobs as the constitutional advancement of India was accelerated, and put forth an overture saying, "if a Hindu like Sinha can be the Lord and the Governor of a Province, then why not a Muslim like you ?" The Quaid who had the most exquisite sense of personal honour and independence and who regarded every such move as highly dishonourable and disgraceful told him that he was not on sale. As the champion of the Muslim rights in this sub-continent he could not put himself under any obligation to any body or incur the slightest shadow of obloquy and odium arising from such transactions, public or private. The modern world is unable to show a second man of such character. The Quaid had earlier refused other similar offers of knighthood, judgeship etc. Once at a social function the viceroy asked Mrs. Rutti Jinnah "how would you like to be called lady Jinnah ?" She had the same spirit of honour and independence as her husband and replied that if Mr. Jinnah thought of accepting a knighthood she would get a separation from him ! The Quaid had his own concept of characeer which he had defined as the highest sense of honour and integrity which consisted in an incorruptible readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation. He fully and completely measurred up to his own definition of character.

The Quaid stuck to this mode of life till the very end. Towards the close of his life, when his condition grew worse, the doctors proposed to shift him from Ziarat to Karachi. Malir was considered to be the most suitable place for his residence as it was largely free from the din, the dirt and the dust of the city. So a search for a proper house at Malir began. The house of Nawab of Bahawalpur was lying vacant and could be had for the asking. He was advised to ask the Nawab for it. But he refused, saying :

> "You know, in the old days when any practising lawyer was elevated to the High Court Bench at Bombay, he gave up attending the clubs and the social functions. Indeed, some of them even dld not read the local news-

> paper so that their mind might not be prejudiced against any person who was going to be tried before them by any account of the matter published in it. As Governor General of Pakistan, I cannot ask His highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur for the loan of the house. I am afraid, this is impossible."

This again shows the obsolute sense of honour and tegrity that the Quaid had and that he always maintained. Another incident of the same nature has been related by Ch. Rehmat Ali in his book on the Quaid. The nephew of the Quaid, Mr. Pir Bhai, barrister, was an Advocate at Bombay before the Independence. He came to Karachi after the establishment of Pakistan. When he called on the Quaid, he asked him as to how long he would stay at Karachi. He told him that he wanted to shift to Karachi permanently. At this the Quaid said these memorable words,

> "Since you are my nephew, I cannot give you any office in Pakistan although I know that you are a competent man and at the moment we are in need of such men."

Mr. Pir Bhai said "uncle ! you misunderstood my purpose. I do not seek any job. I will carry on by practice." The Quaid replied "I know you are a good lawyer, but most probably the courts and the litigants will be influenced in your favour because of my connection with you. I would, therefore, not advise you to practice in Pakistan,"

Mr. Pir Bhai went back to Bombay. He made a name in the legal circles of India by dint of his brilliant advocacy. His going back to India did great honour to him and it reflected greater honour on the Quaid whose words had determined his nephews action. The example of the Quaid conjured up before the Muslim mind, the great models of moral integrity and intelectual honestv that Islam had produced in the first decaders after the birth of Islam. His moral stand in politics was like Atlas or Tenerif unremoved. Here was a Quaid-e-Azam. Where comes such another ?

2. A Great Democrat.

The Quaid was really and truly a great democrat. His spirit was charged with great democratic ideals. In fact. he combined the best of the Islamic and the western democratic traditions. His faith and philosphy cnetred on democracy and he believed that Islam was essentially a democratic system and it had imparted the spirit and attitude of democracy to its followers. Whenever he spoke on this subject, his words glowed with faith and eloquence. Democracy, as he believed, was in the blood of the Musalmans, it was their distinctive chracteristic, their hall-mark. Addressing the All India Muslim League on April 24, 1943, he said :

> "We learnt democracy 1300 years ago. It is in our blood and it is so far away from the Hindu Society as are the Arctic regions. Hindu tell us that we are not democratic. It is we who have taught the lessons of equality and brotherhood of man to the word. Among them one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy ? We are for democracy, but not the democracy of their conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram where one society and one nation will, by its permanent majority destroy another society and nation in permanent minority. and all that is dear to the minority."

Similarly, speaking before the Muslim League branch, London, on December 14, 1946, he said :—

> "Democracy is alien to Hindu society. I do not want to show any disrespect for any other society. But the Hindu society is caste-ridden and caste-bound. The untouchable have no place socially or any way at all. Democracy is the blood of the Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood. I give you an example. Yery often when I go to a mosque, my chauffeur stands side by side with me. Musalmans believe in fraternity, equality and liberty."

Likewise addresiing the Sibi Durbar on February 14, 1948 the Quaid said,

> "In the creation of this council...special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived, as far as possible, from the people. In proposing this scheme I have had one under lying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim Democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Phrophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our Democracy on the basis of the truly Islamic, ideals and principles. God almighty has taught us that our decision in the affairs of state shall be guided by discussion and consultations."

Thus, the Quaid-e-Azam emphasised all the democratic points in our religion namely the equality of man, the liberty of the human soul and the concept that Govt. is to be carried on through consultation and discussion. All this the Muslims imbibed with the first lesson of their religion and with the dawn of consciousness in their mind. It was, therefore, absolutely correct to say that democracy was in the Muslim blood, and it came to us, as leaves come to a tree, to use the Keatsian expression. The very establishment of Pakistan was meant to vindicate the Muslim claim to a democractic order and a just and equitable dispensation. This was the very raison detre of Pakistan which the Quaid explained in the following words :—

> "The establishment of Pakistan was the means to an end and not an end in itself. The idea was that we shall have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play...It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear, but also to secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam."

In his great speech at the public reception at Chittagong the Quaid explained the basis, the rationable and the ideology of Pakistan, grounded in Islamic ideals of social democracy, in words of undying beauty and sublimity. It is his outo da fe, his grand statement of faith, every word of which is an immortal image of his soul. He said :—

> "You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millons of Muslims when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brother hood of man. Similarly, you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunites for all. There targets of progress are not controversal in Pakistan, for we demanded Pokistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spirtually, we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality, and fraternity of man, these are the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. We fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in the subcontinent. We aspired for these great ideals because of conturies of dual dominations by the foriegn rulers and by a caste ridden social system. This domination continued for over 200 years untill we realized that it would ultimately mean complete extinction of muslim individuality as human beings and collectively as a nation. After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement, is the story of great human ideals strugging to survive in the face of odds and difficulties...It is natural for some to think only in terms of Govt. But the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces the sooner our minds is capable of piercing through the horizon to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals

of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and, on the other, open up limitless possiblities of evolving an ideal structure in our State. I reiterate most emphiatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete onnihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that soul is free to exist and to aspire. It must assert itself, galvanising not only the State but also the nation."

The unflagging faith in nemocracy and democratic ideals found a full and faithful expression in his political career and in his life. The Quaid was not the man to say one thing and do the other, to show wheat and to give tares. There was complete identity in his thought and conduct, his precept and his practice. He stood for demoracy and his stand was backed by the acts and activities of a life-time. Now let us see how his action exemplified his faith and philosophy.

Elections, free and fair elections are the starting point, the source of the democratic power and process. If this source is poisoned, then the poison will seep through every aspect of public and private life and contaminate the entire gamut of political, social, and economic activities. The Quaid scrupulously preserved the sanctity and maintained the inviolability of the elections. Not a touch, not a shadow of corruption could be tolerated at the elections. He never sought for any signed pledges from any candidates and never tied the Muslim league ticket to such conditions. In 1944, he clearly contradicted the report that he had offered the League ticket to Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bakhsh if he signed the league pledge. "To say so", he said, "is not only an insult to Mr. Maula Bakhsh but also a serious charge against me. It would be highly improper for me to interfere or to influence the activities, the proceedings and the decisions of the Parliamentary Boards, Central or Provincial, or for that matter, of any tribunal set up by the League. No inducement can be given to any person howsoever high he may be, injoining the league. It will be corruption to do so and no honest man could be a party to it."

The Quaid had a constitutional mind and worked according to rules and principles, without violating them and without encroaching on the functions of other individuals and institutions. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan recorded that when, after the death of his father Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, he left the Army and went to the Quaid to get the Muslim League ticket, as advised by his friends, the Quaid told him" youngman, I do not award tickets for elections. You have to go to the Parliamentary boards."

Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani wrote about an incident relation to his own election to the Bengal legislative Assembly from the Chamber of Commerce constituency of Calcutta in 1946 which throws a flood of light on the care that he took to keep the elections free from all corrupting and corroding infiuences. The candidate who was opposing Mr. Ispahani agreed to withdraw his candidature if he was paid Rs. 250.00 as the amount of the security deposited by him.Mr. Abdut Rehman Siddiqi, who was later on appointed as Governor of East Pakistan long after the dealh of the Quaid, had arranged for this matter, came to the residence of Mr. Ispahani where the Quaid was staying. When it was brought to his notice, writes Mr. Ispahani, "his reaction was electric. He was angry and without hesitation told Mr.Siddiqi to reject the offer as it amounted to bribery which, according to the moralstandard of the Quaid, should not have any place in politics." The Quaid said to Mr. Siddiqi "go and tell him that Hassan (Mr. Ispahani) will fight him to the last, irrespective of whether he succeeds or fails."

A similar incident depicting the Quaid's deep concern for the purity of the elections, illustrating the basic fact in his character that he preferred defeat to dishonesty, was recorded by Mr. G. Allana. The Quaid came to Karachi before the Sind elections and told Mr. G. Allana who was secretary-General of Election Committee of the Muslim League, to capture all the 35 Muslim seats. A tough contest was ahead in respect of five seats as the rich and resourceful Hindus were supporting the rival candidates in these constituencies. The struggle for the fifth seat was the toughest as M. G.M. Syed, a powerful man, was pitted against the Muslim League candi-

date, Mr. Akbar, who was a new comer to the Provincial politics. The Quaid gave Rs. 50,000/- to Mr, Allana to meet the election expenses and said :—

> "You see, the money I have is not my. own. It is the money that belongs to the nation. I am merely its trustee. It is my responsibilityto see that we get 16 annas worth of result for every rupee that is spent and not a single rupee is spent more than it is abosolutelly necessary and look, you must not lose in the constituency of Mr. Syed as he has thrown a challenge to the Muslim League."

After giving this advice, the Quaid, at the end, said the following in a firm and solemn tone :—

> "But remember one thing. I do not want you to pay a single rupee to any voter as bribe to vote for us. That I will never approve. I prefer defeat to winning elections by adopting dishonest and corrupt means."

This was the political and moral faith of the Quaid. The Muslim league ultimately won all the 35 mus lim seats because of the over whelming suyport that the Muslim masses of Sind gave to it.

Quaid's practice of democratic ideals is further adumbrated by his attitude towards the opposition and his tolerance of differences and disagreements. In his interview to the associated Press of Americra on November. 8. 1915, he said "I do not suspect that Pakistan will have one party Government. I will opposeone party rule. An opposition party or Parties are good corrective for any party which is in power" This was of course another expresssoa of the basic principle of Islam, which looked with favour on honest difference of opinion. The famous dictum of the Prophet ran" bonafide disagreement of opinion is a blessing of God". The Quaid wel-comed honest criticism. But he had no taste for criticism forthe sake of criticism. He had no regard for mean, malicious and malficent criticism atising from a malafide and morbid habit of the mind. His address at the

mammoth public meeting at Dacca is fully indicative of his attitude in this behalf. The language controversy was ragging in East Pakistan, especially among the students whose temper had been ignited and inflamed by their Hindu Professors and politicians. The Quaid addressing them on March 21, 1948, said as follows :—

> "I do not think that your administration is perfect, far from it, I do not say that there is no room for improvement. I do not say that honest criticism from true pakistanis is unwelcome. It is always welcome. But when I find in some quarters nothing but complaint, fault finding and not a word of recognition as to the work that has been done, by the Government and by the loyl officials, who have been working for you day and night, it naturally pains me. Therefore, at least, say some good words for the good that is done and then complain and criticize."

As for differences in views and opinions, the Quaid was always tolerant, patient and polite. Mr. Hussain Imam, who was a member of the Muslim League working Committee, went to the Quaid to discuss certain matters earlier when he had not yet joined the Musl m League. He recorded "I had a free and frank discussion with him. He listened to me with patience and courtesy and elucidated certain points in his usual logical and persuasive style. I can testify that Mr. Jinnah was never annoyed by difference of opinion or by opposition, He tried to win over the opponents by reasoning and argument. Here I might explain that impatience and irritability was a not a part of his character and disposition. He reacted in what appears to be an impatient manner when he felt that he was being baited or unnecessarily harassed. But he was very accommodating and conciliatory if he found that someone had genuine doubts and was sincerely in quest of knowledge and enlightenment."

Later on, Mr. Hussain Imam joined the Muslim League and was appointed as member of the working Committee. From his personal experience he made the following observation :—

"The Quaid always gave the widest latitude for discussion at the meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All India Muslim League and heard with patiance all the points of view and the arguments put forward. He had a way of clinching the issue at the end of the discussion."

Mr. Fazal-ur-Rehman, a Minister of the first Pakistan Cabinet said the following about this aspect of the Quaid :—

"An outstanding feature of his character was that the was always amenable to reason. He did not impose a views on others. His manner of argument was so convincing and appealing that others were almost invariably converted to his point of view."

Mr. Hatim A. Alvi, while yet he was supporting the Congress, met the Quaid and discussed the affairs of the country with him. He recorded his exprience in the following words :—

"Mr. Jinnah explained the political developments, particularly the Congress attitude towards the Muslim League, but he never tried to influence me to change my stand against my conviction. He told me,' do not violate your corscience, but I can tell you this much, that the Congress does not wish for freedom for Muslims. One day you will understand it."

And so it happened. Mr. Alvi really understood the Congress later on and joined the Muslim League.

The Quaid was entirely against the use of the goondas in democratic politics. In this early days, the onslaught of the goondas on the political field, under the blessings and inspiration of the bureaucracy, who used them as instruments of discruption in breaking up public meetings, hadstarted. I have already given an account of it in the Chapter on Bureaucracy and Democracy during the days of Willingdon at Bombay. This demon of disruption if unchecked, threatened to swamp public lifere ducing the demoeratic process and the civil liberties to a mockery and a

melodarama. The Quaid was altogether against such practice. He emphasised that differences should be resolved by the democratic process of dialogue and discussion and not by resorting to goonda-ism, In his statement to the Press on July 25, 1944, at Srinagar, after Sheikh Abdullah had attacked the Quaid in the most offensive language, he said :—

> "My advice to Muslims is that the difference should be resolved by argument and discussion and exchange of views and not by the goondaism. One thing to which I must draw theattedtion of the Kashmir Government is that goondaism must be put down at any cost and there should be constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought, which is the elementary right of every citizen under any civilized form of Government."

Mr. Hatim A. Alvi has narrated one more incident to vindicate the democratic practices of the Quaid in giving full hearing and full attention and respect to dissentient voices in the Muslim League Council. He said :—

> "The Quaid explained to me with g reat detail the reasons and circumstances which had led him to recommend theacceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. He told me he appreciated honest difference, I told him that I will oppose the plan at the Council meeting but out of respect for him I will not. What he said in reply showed his magnimity and true greatness. He said, no, you are free to oppose. I will call upon you first to speak at tomorrow meeting' Accordingly I led the opposition and, at the end of the discussion, three votes were cast against the motion which, however, was passed by a very large majority. That incident is a sufficient refutation of the oft—repeated but baseless charge that the Quaid was dictatorial in temper. He was a true democrat and reason was his strongest forte".

Mr. R.G. Casey, the former Governor of Bengal did his bit to spread the mis-understanding that the Quaid was despotic and con-

trolled the Muslim League with the iron hand of a dictator without letting any body to voice any views different from his own. He wrote in his book. "Mr. Jinnah is credited with ruling the working committee of the Muslim league with a rod of iron. He is said to tell them what's what, and they invariably fell into line. At any sign of intransigence on what he considers a major point, he is said to threaten resignation, after which the argument dies "It is perfectly clear that Mr. casey never had any first-hand knowledge of the functioning of the Muslim League Working Committee and he based his remark on hearsay and hallucination conjured up by the heated imagination of those who were hell-bent on decrying and denigrating the Quaid in every way. They made up a story and retailed it to Mr. casey who ran away with it and published it without trying to verify it. It is unfortunate that one of us, Mr. Khalid Bin Saeed, reproduced it in his book thereby lending further currency to this baseless tale. All the colleagues of the Quaid, whom I have quoted above, have testified to the contrary. How a man, who had the supreme gift of converting people through dialogue and discussion and who believed in the exercise of reason and intelligence as the hall-mark of a civilized society, could play the despot and use the rod of iron? Hushing up opposition by threats of throtlling an argument was obviously the method of the bureaucracy which the colleagues of Mr. casey were adept in employing, as Willingdon had done and so many others besides. I will cite one more authority, Mr. Ahmad E.H. Jaffer, who had also voted against the Quaid, and to whom, as he wrote, the Quaid had said :—

> "I do not mind your voting against me. By all means exercise your right in any manner you deem fit. But remember, never go against the dictates of your own conscience. If you feel that you are doing the right then do not hesitate. But if you feel that you are doing something for some consideration at variance with your consciene then shun that course. Throughout my life I have followed that dictum. I do not care what people say or think. I only do what my conscience tells me

is right. If you follow my advice you will rise free like gold. This applies not only in the Assembly and at the Council but it should be taken as a touchstone in all walks of life. Do not run after jobs, jobs must run after you."

Since that day, as Mr. Jaffer said, he made the advice of the Quaid as the beacon-light of his life's journey.

Mr. Hassan A. Sheikh, who was was General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and President of the Bombay City Muslim League, has given some interesting facts about Quaid's democratic processes and practices. He said that the Quaid fought the first battle of democracy against Lord Willingdon in 1918 and won it and thus laid the foundation of a glorious life. Thereafter in which-ever organization or Assemnly he remained he worked as a demo-crat and asserted his right of opposition whenever necessary and never hesitated to afford fully this democratic right to his own opposition. He also said that on the 25th of March, each year, he got himself enrolled as a Member of the Primary Muslim League through the District Muslim League he went to the Provincial Muslim League to qualify himself for election as President. He was so demo-cratic that he preferred to go through the process of election and never sought a direct nomination. He had such a team-concern for the interest of the Muslim League that he granted interviews to the President of the Primary Muslim League, Mr. Usman Bhai, although the doctor had forbidden him interviews in the interest of his health and although he had refused an interview to Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang earlier in the day. Whenever he attended a meeting of the Primary Muslim League, he insisted that the President of the Primary Muslim League should preside over it. When it was proposed to make the Quaid Life President of the Muslim League, he strongly opposed it and insisted on coming befoie the Muslim League Council every year. His respect for democratic institutions and traditions led him to maintain their sanctity and inviolability by setting democratic examples. It was his great respect for the demoratic ideal that he refused to combine the two offices in his own single self, the Chief

of the Government as Governor General and the Chief of the Party as President of the Muslim League. Similarly, he ordered the removal of his huge portrait in royal robes with an inscription below it "Shahinshah-E-Pakistan, Zindabad" set up near the J.J. Hospital in Karachi by some enthusiast. The Quaid observed that Pakistan was a democracy and that there was no room for a Shahinshah in it.

Mr. S.M. Yousaf, the Secretary to the Quaid, recorded that tbe Quaid had refused to give assent to the promulgation of an ordinance as he did not countenance the by yassing of the law making body. Similarly, Mr. Alter Hussain, the Editor of Dawn, recorded that the Quaid did not suspend the Provincial constitution in the Punjab u/s 92-A although Mamdot and Daultana were locked up in a clash as it was an internal party matter and did not constitute any danger to the security of the state. This view was taken by the Quaid when some of the leaders had advised him to suspend the Punjab Government and explained that the Constitution could be suspended only if tne security of the State was threatened. These cases throw further light on the democratic mind and method of the Quaid. There was not the least touch of a despot in him. The very establishment of Pakistan was a triumph of democratic process and a living proof, if any proof was needed, of the Quaid's deep attachment for the great ideals of democracy and his commitment to democratic processes. Undoubtedly he was a great democrat and he was right when he said that democracy was in our blood, that it was in our marrows and that only centuries of adverse circumstance had made the circulation of that blood cold and frozen in our arteries. It needed a Quaid-e-Azam to get the blood of democracy coursing again in our veins and vessels.

3. Concern for people's welfare.

The Quaid had a deep concern for the moral and material welfare of his people. He was the first great Muslim who combined an ideal vision with a practical approach to the reality of the Muslim situation in the sub-continent. He was a man of deep moral pre-occupation with a pre-embinent competency for action. His politi-

cal conduct was, as I said, informed and animated by the highest moral values of Islam and the finest traditions of the progressive democracies of the modern West. He was not a blind follower of the West. He had applied his political mind to the Western system. While performing the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan he made the following observations of great insight :—

> "The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and, to many of us, it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and to eridicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World-Wards in the last half century. They Western world inspite of its advantage of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a wrose mess than ever before in its history. The adoption of western aconomic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work out our destiny in our own way and present the world an economic system based on the true Islamic concept of manhood and sacial justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, the happiness and the prosperity of mankind."

That is why Iqbal, who was himself a seer and sage of Islam, regarded the Quaid as "the only Muslim in India today to whom the community had a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which was coming to north west India and perhaps to the whole of India." Iqbal also believed that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rested very largely on a complete re-organization of Indian Muslims. He was of the view that the economic problem was not the only problem in the country and that from the Muslim point of view the cultural problem was of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims and at any rate, it was

not less important than the economic problem. In his next two letters to the Quaid, Allama Iqbal throughly dealt with the problem of Muslim Poverty and the problem of the bread. I have already discussed it in an earlier chapter. The truth is that both problems, the cultural and economic, were equally important to the Muslims and were so closely inter-linked that one could not be solved apart from the other. Muslims could never sacrifice their distinctive cultural image and identity at the alter of economic wel-being inspite of the clamour raised by Pandit Nahru about it nor could they tolerate any reactionary clique of the feudalists and capitalists trying to exploit them in the name of religion and culture and keeping them permanently down and out. The Quaid was deeply conscious of the sad lot of the Muslim masses and always emphasized the need to ameliorate it. He had set up a planning cell in the Muslim League before the advent of independece for this purpose. In his speech on April 24, 1943, he dwelt on the question of poverty and the expolitation of the masses by the feudalist and the capital ists in a spirit and manner which brought out his basic quality as a soulful revolutionary. He said :—

> "I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them, The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others inorder to fatten themselves...I have visited villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day, Is this civilization ? Is this the aim of Pakistan ? Do you visualise that millions have been expolited and cannot get one meal a day ? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise, they will have to adjust themselves to the new and modern conditions of life. If they do'nt, God help them, we shall not help them."

This burning denunciation of expolitation of the masses, this jeremiad, had been anguished out of the heart of the Quaid. It shows his deep care and concern for the welfare of his people. It also shows that he was not going to tolerate any unjust and iniquitous system in Pakistan. In the post independence period, a very short time of less than 13 months was given to the Quaid to work for his concept of Pakistan, for his grand design. for his glorious dream and its realization in material terms. This short time was crowded with problems, heap upon heap. Setting up a new State on the ground complete with the Governmental machinery where there was none before, the massacre of Muslims in India and their migration to Pakistan, the clossal problem of their rehabilitation and re-settlement. The problems of Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabed. The internal law and order question, The stoppage of canal water by India. Withholding our cash balances, our share of the stores, Arms, Ammunition and equipment by the enemy. All this could break the back of a well-established Government not to speak of a new State which started from the scratch. India, which had inhereted a strong and stable Government., tottered to a halt and was thrown into the throes of a catastrophic crisis. Nahru and Patel, in a bid to avert the crisis, made a hysterical call on Mountbatten to return from Simla and to take over the actual charge of the Government. as Hodson and Campbell-Johnson recorded in their books. Nehru cloearly told Mountbatten that he and his colleagues in the Congress were expert at agitational politics and that they could not control the situation and run the Government. So Mountbatten took over the effective control of the Indian Government which obviously showed the complete failure and incompetency and ineptitude of Pandit Nahru and others who managed to conceal this blot on their quality of leadership from the public, but which has now been fully exposed through the books that have been written by this time. Pakistan had a much better control over the situation which was due to the grim and grave determination of the Quaid. Even in Pakistan a moment came when some Ministers made dark prophecies and gave way to pessimism. Mr. Fazal-ur-Rehman a member of the first Cabinet of Pakistan, painted the scene

in the following words :—

> "The Quaid realized the urgency and vastness of the problems that Pakistan faced on coming into being, He, therefore, immediately formed an emergency cabinet of 5 members of whom I had the honour to be one...the Committee considered and decided questions arising out of the mass aviction of Muslims from India and other problems coming in the wake of creation of a new state. In one of the meetings the financial position of the country was discussed. The service chiefs were also called in for consultation on the prospects of defence of Pakistan against possible design of some neighbouring countries. A gloomy picture of the finances was drawn and the inadequacy of our defence owing to paucity of funds. The Quaid, as was his wont, listened with great patience to the dark prognostication, The Ministers wore grim faces. All of a sudden the Quaid pushed aside his chair, stood up and addressing a particular minister said 'Mr.—no independent country goes down for want of finances. I shall fight for every inch of my country till I am bodily lifted and thrown into the Arabian Sea beyond.' Saying this he left the meeting. The Ministers felt not only relieved but inspired and heartened to apply themselves to their respective tasks of nation building and national defence with renewed confidence. This was perhaps the greatest quality of the Quaid. He filled others with his own indomitable willl, courage and enthusiasm".

Caught under the burden of these multifarious problems of great urgency and immediacy which were threatening the very survivle of Pakistan, and gripped by a consuming disease which had reduced him to a mere 70 pounds and which often confined him to bed, the Quaid yet found time to lay down the great social, and economic goals of Pakistan. Iqbal had visualized Pakistan as a "social democarcy in some suitable form, consistent with the legal principles of Islam,

which to the Muslims was not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam". This system could be established only in a free Muslim State. After the inception of Pakistan, the induction of social democracy of the Islamic order was the logical development. The Quaid referred to this ideal in his classical speech at Chitagang, quoted above, wherein he had clearly and conclusively stated that social justice and Islamic Socialism, which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man, constituted the in-disputable target of progress—for which we had struggled and achieved Paki stan. This was one of the pillars of Pakistan's policy.

> Extremes of poverty and prosperity have a demoralizing and degrading effect on human mind and character.

Abysmal proverty brutalises human nature while elysian wealth perverts a man's mind and soul by opening up to him vast possibilities of expolitation. Both, uncurbed and uncontrolled, have a devastating effect on a man's sense of the values. The brutalized poor have no idea of the values while the perverted rich grow blind to it and turn their wealth into a tool of limitless expolitation and they term every attempt at social reforms & revolution as an encroachment on their fundamental rights. This is a horrible perversion, a terrible dehumanization of human nature. Such a thing could not be permitted in the Pakistan of Quaid's conception. He knew and believed that the common people, the masses constituted the basic strength of the nation. It is they who had turned the tide in favour of Pakistan and who had made the party of the Nawabs, the Noons and the Knights into a Peoples Party whose voice became the voice of the people. Their participation had revolutionized the whole thing, changed the entire face of it and transformed it into a movement, into an avalanche, as the Quaid said. He, therefore, could not forget them and their lot. Intensely human has the Quaid was, he was bound to improve their life and living conditions. He could not allow the few to grab all the good things of life, lap up all the benefits and eat up all the fruits of freedom. That is why he stressed again and again that a just and equitable social order based on the Islamic principles of equality, fraternity and social justice will be established in Pakistan. He had

fought against Brahmanism all his life and triumphed over it not for creating a new class of barhamans in any walk of life in his beloved State for the honour and uplift of which he worked himself to death. Little did he think that after his death trade and commerce, industry and agriculture, public services and private enterprise, will develop an echelon of Barhamans who will dominate all its cources of power and centres of strength, dopose and degrade human worth and excellence, disregard his dream of human dignity and decency and instal their own images and icons for public worship and involve everybody in a mad race for power and position, loot and lust, resulting in a rule not of the saints and sages of the damocracy but in a reign of the cads and caitiffs of the Bucreaucracy.

4. Comprehensive Approach.

The Quaid brought a comprehensive approach to the national problems. Even before the establishment of Pakistan he had done a lot, as Mr. M.A. Isapahani wrote, to strengthen the base of Muslims, by a bid to fortify and expand the industrial undertakings. It was through his advice and inspiration that several muslim Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of the Muslims Chamber of Commerce at new Delhi, the Muslim Commercial Bank, The Eastern Federal Insurance Company, The Orient Airways etc. had been established in the pre-independence era. In the post-indepedence period, almost all the aspects of national life received his attention. I will just give a few subjects culled from his speeches and writing relatingto this epoch to show the range and reach of his mind. He dealt with the Army, Navy and Air Force, the services, the Municipal Committees and Corparations, Textile Mills, Chambers of Commerce, educational system, national language, national culture, Boy scouts, Red-Cross Society, Oil Mills, Tribal Are as, Reforms in Baluchistan, its and development, corruption and bribery, nepotism & jobbery in public services, black-marketting, hoarding and adulteration in private business, social evils, national re-construction & economic growth, social development to meet popular expectations, emphesis on acquiring technical skill & competence & giving the education a progressive orientation & a technical bias, acquiring professional competency, opening of fresh avenues in

Science and Technology, Universities, Colleges & Medical Associations, Pakistan Mint & the new doins and notes, Olympic Games, Staff College, State Bank of Pakistan, apart from the transaction of routine business of the Government. This shows the amplitude of his mind, the range of his thought & the sweep of his grasp as also the concern that he felt for the welfare of his people in all sphere of public activity & national endeavour. While the Quaid was in the midst of his labours, thinking, planning, building, living laborious days & lucubrating on nipping nights, the summons came on September 11, 1948, and, dutifully & cheerfully, he returned to his Maker :

> "To rest
> With heroes, amid the island of the blest,
> or in the field of empyrean light.
> A meteor was he crossing a dark night,
> Yet shall his name conspicuous and sublime,
> Stand in the spcacious firmament of time,
> Fixed as a star, such glory is his right,"